2005

The Boschlopers of New Netherland and the Iroquois, 1633-1664

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THE BOSCHLOPERS OF NEW NETHERLAND AND THE IROQUOIS, 1633-1664

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A Thesis submitted to the
Department of History
in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts

Degree Awarded:
Fall Semester, 2005

The members of the Committee approve the
thesis of Timothy Romans defended on October 27, 2005

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For Dave and Bernie Cremeans
My brothers and the builders of dreams

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this project would not have been possible without the assistance of several important people along the way. First of all, I would like thank the United States Air Force Academy Department of History for giving me the chance to come to Florida State for my studies and the opportunity to teach at their outstanding institution. I would also like to thank my major professor, Edward G. Gray for admitting me as his student along with all the advice, council, hard work, and attention he has given this project, especially when his own book was on the verge of publication. Another special thanks goes to Matt Childs, Robinson Herrera for aiding me in the construction of my approach to colonial history and the boschlopers

Two larger than life names in Native American history and New Netherlandic studies have also been instrumental in this project. A special thanks goes to Daniel K. Richter for his March 2005 presentation on the Iroquois and for answering all my incessant questions about material culture. Charles T. Gehring of the New Netherland Project has also taken time out of his busy schedule to answer all my questions about the documents and the context of seventeenth century Dutch words.

My acknowledgement of dept would be incomplete without recognizing my fellow graduate students for reading drafts and patiently listening to me talk about the boschlopers, almost nonstop in the reading room for the past eight months. Thank you Mike Douma, Mike Bonura, Eman Vovsi, Matthew Harrington, Tam Spike, Jonathan Sheppard and Nate Wiewora. Best of luck in all your future endeavors.

I first became interested in New Netherland while in Sarajevo Bosnia during the winter of 2003. I would like to thank all the Dutch men and women of Stabilization Forces 15 at Camp Butmir for their wonderful companionship while away from my own family and for granting me the special privilege of learning their language and culture. Thanks again Dick and Willem. Last but not least I wish to thank my wife Amber, my daughter Juliet, and my son Tecumseh. Without their love, support, and understanding I would not have been able to finish this project. You've been a constant source of inspiration and strength throughout our time in Florida.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Iroquois and the traders in New Netherland who perpetuated peaceful diplomatic exchange through the supply of contraband firearms and alcohol. These traders who traveled into the woods replaced the Dutch West India Company as the most common arbitrators between the Dutch and the Iroquois. Their actions not only kept the Dutch from losing the beaver trade to other colonial powers, but also ensured the existence of their communities through peace with the Iroquois. This study will reveal how the boschlopers mobilized their fellow colonists to smuggle large quantities of firearms and munitions to trade to the Iroquois. It will also reveal how a small number of these boschlopers rose to an elite status within their community through selling firearms and munitions to the Iroquois. This study will also illustrate how the trade alcohol allowed a broader base of colonists to become boschlopers, but this study will reveal how the elites used the legal system and fear of drunken Indians to defend their exclusive right to trade with the Iroquois. In addition, this study will also explore how the contraband trades led to the demise of zeewant as currency and as the medium of exchange between the Dutch and the Iroquois.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Until recently, historical scholarship in colonial North America has given Native Americans a minor role in negotiating the terms of contact and interaction with Europeans. Not only have historians silenced native voices in the past, they have also marginalized other European colonial powers in North America to a subordinate role in order to build a predominately Anglocentric narrative. Within the past few decades, historians have begun to reexamine the role of Native Americans and how their interactions with non-English speaking colonists shaped the landscape and culture of early America.

Iroquois studies during the age of colonization has multiplied exponentially in the past thirty years, however New Netherland studies have spiked in the last decade after nearly a century of dormancy . While numerous works of scholarship exist on both topics, they tend to center their focus on either the Dutch or the Iroquois. Historians have rarely attempted to bring both peoples together to understand how the two peoples interacted with each other on a daily basis in a colonial setting. By focusing on contraband trade that bound the Dutch and the Iroquois together, I hope to recapture how individual men and women of both peoples renewed and renegotiated their friendship and commitments to one another on a daily basis and reveal how colonial settlements depended upon their Native American neighbors for survival.

A Colony Caught in the Struggle for Empire

The Dutch first sailed to what they would call New Netherland in 1609 when Henry Hudson's ship the *Halve Maen* sailed up the North River in search of the Northwest Passage to the East Indies.[1] Although Hudson failed in his quest to find the Northwest Passage, Hudson's account of New Netherland stirred the imagination of the Dutch. Eager to exploit the resources of the North American continent, Dutch merchants sailed to New Netherland in the hopes of amassing wealth

[1] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pages 29, 30-31, .

through trading with the natives for beaver pelts.[2] These merchants banded together to form the New Netherland Company in 1614, the same year that the Dutch first colonized the region with a handful of French speaking Walloons. In 1621, the Dutch West India Company dissolved the New Netherland Company and took control of the colony and the fur trade, officially retaining possession of until the English conquest in 1664.[3]

In comparison with the Dutch West India Company's holdings in Brazil and the Caribbean, New Netherland experienced considerable autonomy. The company directors had more interest in the sugar plantations of the Caribbean and Brazil along with the raiding on Spanish and Portuguese shipping provided more promise than they did in the fur trade. Piet Heyn's famous raid on the Spanish Silver Fleet in Matanzas Bay Cuba netted the Dutch West India Company enough cash to pay off all of their debts with enough left over to plan their raid on Portuguese Brazil and eventually the silver mines of Peru. The company directors believed that disrupting Spanish mercantilism in colonies at or below the equator was the best way to strike a crippling blow to their maritime rivals, the Spanish and Portuguese.[4] The very wording of the Dutch West India Company Charter, which drew from Hugo Grotius' 1621 Freedom of the Seas, placed them at odds with their Iberian competitors who believed that navigation and trade on certain bodies of water was their right alone.[5] Throughout the existence of New Netherland, the Dutch West India Company was at war with the Spanish and Portuguese in Brazil and the Caribbean from 1621-1654 and then with the English in the Atlantic during the Anglo-Dutch Wars from 1652-1654 and 1664-1667.[6]

The company directed the majority of its resources towards fighting the enemies of the Dutch in the west, sparing little in manpower or resources for New Netherland. By the time that the company renewed its interest in New Netherland in 1654, the Dutch navy had suffered devastating losses at the hands of the English and the Portuguese had recaptured the crown jewel of Brazil.[7] Without soldiers, law enforcement officials, or goods to sell to the Indians, the company could not effectively enforce their laws or maintain their trading monopoly in New

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[2] Ibid, pages 46-47, 50, 70
[3] Ibid, page 260
[4] See C.R. Boxer *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (London: Penguin Books. 1957), pages 30-31.
[5] Hugo Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas* (1916, Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Batoche Books, 2000) and E.B. O'Callaghan. ed. *Charter of the Dutch West India Company, 1621: History of New Netherland, I*, (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1855), pages 112-120. Courtesy of the Avalon Projecthttp://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/westind.htm (accessed March 2, 2005)
[6] C.R. Boxer *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (London: Penguin Books. 1990), pages 94-95, 123.
[7] Wim Klooster. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. (Leiden: KLTV Press, 1998), page 37

Netherland. As a result, private merchants and traders usurped the company's economic and political authority, but not without a struggle.[8]

The Burgher Revolt

Many of New Netherland's private citizens felt that the company had abused and trampled on their rights as free Dutchmen and colonists resisted the directors in several ways.[9] The most famous was the conspiracy of the nine men led by Adriaen Van Der Donck and Govert Lockermaans in 1649. These men wrote to Holland States General and the Prince of Orange, pleading for the government of the Dutch Republic to take over administration of New Netherland. Physical acts of resistance accompanied the written protests of the nine men and several episodes of violence erupted throughout New Netherland in the late 1640's and early 1650's. The leaders of Rensselaerswijck, owned by Amsterdam diamond merchant Killian Van Rensselaer challenged the company's right to trade on the upper Hudson River. They threatened to blockade the river and even fired cannons at company ships that traveled up the river to trade.[10]

The showdown between the company and Van Rensselaer escalated when the Director General of Brant Van Slictenhorst, Director General of Rensselaerswijck decided to build houses around company owned Fort Orange.[11] Director General Stuyvesant of the Dutch West India Company protested Van Slictenhorst's actions and on New Year's Eve of 1651 the confrontation exploded into physical violence. Dutch West India Company burned down the houses that Van Slictenhorst built around Fort Orange. In the midst of the conflict, soldiers assaulted Van Slictenhorst's son Gerrit and threatened to shoot him. In the aftermath of the conflict, the Dutch West India Company absorbed.[12]

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[8] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), Pages 18-19.

[9] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 349, Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pages 191-208, and Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), page 31.

[10] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 200-201.

[11] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 36-37.

[12] Ibid, page 35.

The Boschlopers and the Iroquois

In the midst of this conflict between the company and private individuals interested in the trade with the Indians, the boschlopers emerged. The boschlopers or "forest walkers" waged an economic and political offensive against the company by trading contraband to the Iroquois in the woods and from their own homes.[13] While many of New Netherland's boschlopers were men with grievances against the company, they were joined by women and the poor who desperately sought to carve out their own economic niche in the woods or simply survive. While the boschlopers were divided by gender, wealth, and social status, they had the common goal of preserving their community through trade with the Iroquois

The existence of New Netherland depended upon the daily exchange of commodities and goodwill with the Iroquois. Unlike the Dutch, the Iroquois did not separate diplomacy from trade and they identified friend and foe by a community's involvement in exchange with them. An alliance with the Iroquois demanded constant attention and renewal as the terms of friendship could and often did change. To preserve their privileged place in the trade and prevent the destruction of their community, the boschlopers took to the woods to preserve the peaceful exchange between the Dutch and the Iroquois.[14]

By trading contraband items, the boschloper replaced the Dutch West India Company as the primary brokers of peace between the Dutch and the Iroquois, the native people who politically and militarily dominated the upper Hudson in the mid to late seventeenth-century.[15] The most prominent and wealthy boschlopers built an oligarchic government that excluded women and the poor from the trade.[16] Women and the impoverished also became boschlopers by trading alcohol to the Iroquois, which was the only commodity other than firearms that could secure peltries necessary for survival. During New Netherland's existence, relations between the Dutch and the Iroquois nearly collapsed on several occasions. While daily interaction between the boschlopers

[13] Boschloper means "forest walker," Parker's translation, see R.J. Parker. *The Iroquois and the Dutch Fur Trade, 1609-1698*. (Doctoral Dissertation: University of California, 1931), page 20. See also Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 96-97 Modern Dutch uses "bos" for the word forest. For the purpose of this paper I have used the seventeenth century version "bosch" as in the city "Den Bosch" which Parker also uses.

[14] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 48-49.

[15] Ibid, pages 3-4

[16] Ibid, pages 40, 49

and the Iroquois united them with the Dutch, the trade in alcohol created an atmosphere of violence and fear.

Sources and Methodology

In my investigation of the interactions between the boschlopers and the Iroquois in seventeenth century New Netherland, I have attempted to use a variety of printed sources and compiled manuscripts. Since New Netherland lived under a hybridization of Roman law, court minutes and council minutes provide detailed accounts of who boschlopers were and what activities ultimately led to their arrest and trial.[17] Since the majority of contact between the Dutch and the Iroquois took place near present day Albany New York, the Fort Orange Court Minutes and the Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswijck have proven to be invaluable resources. I have approached these documents from a social perspective in the desire to understand who the boschlopers were, how they earned their livelihood, and their place in the community.

Unfortunately, an in depth study of seventeenth century Iroquois society is nearly impossible since most of the records come from European observers. In an attempt to remedy this problem, I have used a wide variety of these colonial observations ranging from the Reuben Gould Thwaites Jesuit Relations, the Journals of Adriaen Van Der Donck and Harmen Meyndersz Van den Bogaert, and personal narratives from New Netherland colonists. In addition, I have used court documents that capture Iroquois' voices and have given my best effort to make these voices heard throughout the historical narrative.

Laws, ordinances, and writs of appeal have been vital to understanding the legal and economic context that the boschlopers operated in. The Dutch West India Company enacted laws and ordinances to address specific behaviors and deficiencies in trade, currency, and smuggling. The frequent renewal of certain laws and ordinances can also often indicate patterns of behavior and larger social problems. As for correspondence records, they have also been important throughout the course of this project by illuminating the personal thoughts of colonists and company officials while providing a political context for the actions of the boschlopers.

Historiography

The field of New Netherlandic studies has witnessed an explosion of scholarship within the past decade and historians have shown increasing interest in the remaining documents from the

[17] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), pages 26, 33

Dutch colony. At the end of the nineteenth century, Edmund Bailey O'Callaghan and Bertold Fenrow translated a small portion of the New Netherland documents followed by Arnold J.F. Van Laer in the early twentieth century, and more recently Charles T. Gehring who is currently working to translate the remaining materials.[18]

My combined use of the New Netherland document series and the Reuben Gould Thwaites edited *Jesuit Relations* to investigate interactions between the Dutch and the Iroquois is not an original endeavor. The venerable historian George T. Hunt used the O'Callaghan, Fenrow, and Van Laer documents in tandem with the Jesuit Relations to construct his 1940 political and military account of the wars of the Iroquois and their alliance with the Dutch. Hunt saw the alliance between the Dutch and the Iroquois as directly linked to the "beaver wars." Hunt argued that the Iroquois fought against the French and the Huron to control access to beaver pelts which they would then trade to the Dutch for European commodities.[19]

In 1991, Richard White's work used the O'Callaghan translated New Netherland documents and the *Jesuit Relations* to assert that the Iroquois had the power to force Euro-American colonists to negotiate with them on "the middle ground." White's "middle ground" consisted of the spaces between Native Americans and colonial powers where cultures where people "adjusted their differences.[20] White's work was instrumental in demonstrating how Euro-American colonists depended on the Iroquois for their economic and physical survival, a theme that I stress throughout my own work For the boschlopers, the forest and their homes provided the "middle ground" in which the Dutch and the Iroquois negotiated the terms of exchange and addressed each other's needs.[21]

In 1992 Daniel K. Richter added the Gehring translated records and the papers of Cadwallader Colden to the corpus of documents that Hunt and others before him had used. Richter concluded that the Iroquois engaged in war and diplomacy to satisfy social, cultural ,and economic needs through captive taking.[22] In regard to interactions between the Iroquois and the Dutch, Richter asserted that the Dutch West India Company commander of Fort Orange, Arent

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[18] Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pages 4-5, 321-323

[19] Jose Antonio Brandao, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and its Native Allies to 1701*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pages 5-6, 299

[20] Richard White. *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), pages x-xi

[21] Ibid, pages x-xi

[22] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 35, 57

Van Curler played a major role in maintaining the peaceful diplomatic exchange between the two peoples.[23] Although I do not contest the idea that Curler's actions served a vital purpose in negotiations with the Iroquois, he was certainly not alone. I expand on Richter's findings by arguing that the boschlopers were more important than Curler in maintaining Dutch-Iroquois relations, primarily because they had access to more goods than the company and secondly because there was more of them.

In 1993, Matthew Dennis and his cultural analysis of Iroquois and European interaction relied upon the same primary sources as Richter, except he did not rely as much on the Gehring translated New Netherland documents. In his work, Dennis called for the replacement of the "clash of cultures model" with something that investigates the "complex process of cultural accommodation and conflict."[24] Dennis advocated the importance of understanding the daily interactions between the Iroquois, French, English, and the Dutch. However, Dennis did not fully penetrate the social context of Iroquois-Dutch interactions.[25] My work on the boschlopers seeks to expand on Dennis' work by analyzing the people involved in the daily negotiations between the Dutch and the Iroquois and the social context in which they operated.

In 1997, Dennis Sullivan's work relied on the New Netherland document series and archival documents from the New York State library to analyze law and criminality on the Dutch upper Hudson.[26] Sullivan's work was crucial for understanding the contraband trades between New Netherland colonists and the Iroquois in addition to the social and legal context of crime and punishment. Despite this attention to the law and the contraband trades, Sullivan did not place enough focus on the contraband traders and the Iroquois recipients of their goods.[27] While I have relied on Sullivan to explain the larger context of New Netherland's legal system, I seek to flesh out who these lawbreakers were by studying the boschlopers and reveal how breaking the law fit into the larger context of Iroquois-Dutch relations.

In 1999, James H. Merrell responded to the call for understanding daily interactions between Euro-Americans and the Iroquois. Merrell's work on Pennsylvania Quakers who traveled into the American woods to negotiate with the Iroquois inspired my concept of the boschloper.

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[23] Ibid, pages 93-95
[24] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), page 4
[25] Ibid, pages 4-5
[26] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), pages 10-11
[27] Ibid, pages 176-206

Merrell stressed the importance of recreating the social and environmental context in which cultural "go-betweens" operated.[28] Merrell also asserted that the study of cultural "go-betweens" is a new approach in examining historical documents which can offer fresh perspectives on Colonial American history.[29] In New Netherland, the boschlopers were the closest thing to Merrell's negotiators and I expand on his argument by illustrating that "go-betweens" like the Quakers existed wherever the communities of Europeans and Native Americans came into contact.

In 2000, Janny Venema's microhistory used the New Netherland document series and the Dutch archival records in the New York State Library to explore the lives, occupations, and personalities of New Netherland's Beverwijck community. Venema's work was central in revealing how women and artisans supported the community through trade with the Iroquois. Venema's is key to understanding the men and women on the upper Hudson who became boschlopers and also provides the social context for my own study.[30] While Venema's work extensively focuses on Beverwijck's inhabitants, it does not investigate the relationships between colonists and the Iroquois. It is my aim to expand on Venema's work by showing how the boschlopers preserved their community through their connections to the Iroquois.

In 2003, Roger M. Carpenter's work affirmed White's concept that the Iroquois not only controlled their own destiny, but also the fate of Euro-American colonists. Carpenter used the O'Callaghan and Van Laer translated New Netherland documents in combination with the *Jesuit Relations* to argue that interaction between Europeans and the Iroquois remade North America and forged a distinctive colonial culture with its own set of rules.[31] Carpenter argued that within the new colonial culture, older traditions continued to exist within Iroquois' culture, particularly their need for renewal and renegotiation in diplomatic exchange.[32] This idea pervades my own work and is crucial to understanding why the boschlopers succeeded in securing the trade of the Iroquois where the Dutch West India Company failed.

Chapter Contents

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[28] James H. Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), pages 39-40
[29] Ibid, pages 33-34, 39.
[30] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 20-21, 33-34
[31] Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), pages xxi--xxii
[32] Ibid, page xxi

Chapter two introduces the concept of the boschloper and delineates the social and political context in which they operated while setting the stage for their conflict with the Dutch West India Company. Through the trade firearms and alcohol, the boschlopers of New Netherland drastically changed the culture of the Iroquois. This chapter argues that boschlopers linked the Dutch to the Iroquois through the contraband trades and that the forest and personal residences provided a unique setting for negotiations between the two peoples.[33] As negotiators, the boschlopers sought to reconcile the differences between the Dutch and the Iroquois in addition to securing the fur trade for New Netherland.

Chapter three explores the involvement of the boschlopers in trading contraband firearms and munitions to the Iroquois. The Iroquois mastered the use of firearms within the span of a generation which dramatically changed their way of war. With their reliance on firearms to support ambush-style raids, the Iroquois increased their demand for firearms and munitions.[34] To meet Iroquois's demands and prevent rival colonial powers from controlling the fur trade, the boschlopers built large organizations of smugglers and artisans to build contraband firearms. This chapter argues that the boschlopers displaced the Dutch West India Company as the intermediaries between the Dutch and the Iroquois. Through the trade in contraband firearms and munitions, a handful of boschlopers came to occupy prominent positions in the Fort Orange community by virtue of their wealth and power.

Chapter four investigates the boschlopers and the contraband trade in alcohol to the Iroquois. Alcohol was another vital staple in the fur trade, especially for those boschlopers who did not possess the skills or capital necessary for the production of contraband firearms. The trade in alcohol also further reveals how dependant the Dutch were on the Iroquois for food and other items of survival. While the trade in alcohol aided women and the poor in the quest for beaver pelts, a small group of elite boschlopers sought to control the trade with the Iroquois. I argue that these elite boschlopers perpetuated fears of drunken Indians and manipulated the legal system to prevent other colonists from trading alcohol to the Iroquois even though they engaged in the same activity.

Chapter five examines the role that zeewant played as New Netherland currency and the medium of diplomatic exchange between the Iroquois and their neighbors. The monetary use of

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[33] James H. Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), pages 39-40

[34] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 51, 71

zeewant was one of the last tangible manifestations of company power to crumble in the Dutch communities on the upper Hudson. I argue that inflation and a dramatic shift in colonial culture rendered zeewant useless for the Dutch to use as currency. While the Iroquois continued to use it as a medium of diplomacy with other Native Americans, they demanded firearms and munitions from the Dutch to renew their friendship. The boschlopers were essential in providing the Iroquois with the contraband items they demanded, preserving peaceful exchange, and preventing the destruction of their communities

CHAPTER 2

THE BOSCHLOPERS

On the crisp fall day of September 28th, 1648 three men appeared before Cornelius Van Tienhoven, Provincial Secretary of New Netherland at the behest of Mr. Govert Lockermaans to render sworn depositions. These three men, Andries Luycassen, Cornelius, Mauritz Bout, and Jan Jansen testified that they had sailed with Lockermaans in October and November of 1647 on his bark *de Goode Hoop* from New Amsterdam to Pakeketook, Crommagou, and New Haven to trade, and all three men offered to swear that they had not "traded or bartered" any "powder, lead, or guns" to any Indians along the way except for presenting a chief named Bochbou with a gift of one pound of powder along the way.[35]

These three men offered to swear an oath by all that was holy in defense of Lockermaans, but the correspondence between Peter Stuyvesant the Director General of New Netherland and Theophilus Eaton the Governor of New Haven tells a conflicting tale about Govert Lockermaans and his trading venture in late 1647. Governor Eaton wrote to Stuyvesant in May of 1648 proclaiming that he had three witnesses, a Mr. Willet, a Mr. Throckemorton, and a Mr. Heart who testified that Lockermaans had promised a group of Indians that with every coat they purchased, he would throw in a pound of powder. Eaton's witnesses also testified that Lockermaans had promised this same group of Indians around Sowthampton that if they would cut the English off from the fur-trade, he would supply them with "pieces, powder, and shot enough" to do the job.[36]

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[35] A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1648-1660*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 60-61. A bark is a shallow draft Dutch vessel with two masts used for hauling cargo. Charles T. Gehring, Personal Communication, April 1, 2005

[36] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 32-34. Beaver pelts were a highly desired commodity for the European market and the Dutch used them primarily to make hats which they re-exported to markets throughout the world. Competition for beaver pelts was fierce largely due to seventeenth century fashion trends and the Dutch Swedish, French, and English colonies fought fiercely and competitively to corner the pelt market. This competition often escalated into open violence and a series of military conflicts in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries known to historians as the "Beaver Wars." Indeed, competition in the market was fierce and there was an ever present apprehension amongst Europeans that other colonies were trading arms to American Indians. Fore more information on the so-called "Beaver Wars" please consult Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), Jose Antonio Brandao, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France*

Through the better portion of 1648, Govert Lockermaans caused quite a stir between the colonies of New Netherland and New Haven, and his actions gained both the attention of Director General Stuyvesant and Governor Eaton. Over time, Govert Lockermaans came to develop a reputation not only as a wealthy and prosperous trader, but also for his sadistic and malicious nature and his propensity to illegally trade firearms, powder, and lead with the indigenous peoples of North America. Lockermaans developed such a heinous reputation that it extended as far away as Rhode Island. Another Dutch trader named Govert Aertsen appeared before the Council of New Netherland pleading for a certificate stating that his name was Govert Aertsen and not Govert Lockermaans to avoid being thrown into prison on any of his trading ventures to the New England colonies.[37] It is indeed one of history's great ironies that the house of Govert Lockermaans would later become the home of the infamous pirate Captain William Kidd.[38]

Despite the fact that the actions of Govert Lockermaans made diplomatic relations between New Haven and New Netherland more tense in 1647-1648, Govert Lockermaans, or rather the type of trader that he represents has a much larger historical significance in regards to Northern European contact with the indigenous peoples of colonial North America. Lockermaans and his contemporaries were a generation of Dutch traders who benefited from the fluidity of colonial society that afforded them a greater degree of social mobility than in Europe. Lockermaans arrived in New Netherland aboard the *Sint Maarten* in 1634 as the mate to the ship's cook, but in a relatively short period of time he built one of the largest smuggling rings in colonial North America .[39]

Not every Dutch trader was as fortunate as Lockermaans in their efforts to make a fortune in the New World. Although they most certainly tried by any means possible, either by trading within the parameters of West India Company guidelines or by taking matters into their own hands by disregarding colonial policy and venturing off into the woods to carry on their trade. These traders, such as Govert Lockermaans, who defied West India Company directives by peddling their contraband wares or brokering trade with native inhabitants in the forests of

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and its Native Allies to 1701. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), and George T. Hunt. *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960)

[37] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 385-386

[38] Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), page 106

colonial North America, were the so-called boschlopers of New Netherland.[40] The term boschloper in its seventeenth-century Dutch context literally meant "forest-walker," though this was not a name of self or group identification, it was a pejorative term colonists used to describe violated Dutch West India Company legislation that forbade unsanctioned traders from traipsing off into the forests of Colonial North America.

As in colonial Latin America where merchants and traders acted as mediums for interaction between Europeans and indigenous peoples, the boschlopers served as cultural intermediaries between New Netherland and the Iroquois League and the European goods that they brought to trade for beaver pelts gradually changed the way of life for all the native peoples that they came into contact with.[41] The boschlopers of New Netherland in Beverwijck, Fort Orange, Rensselaerswijck, and in the forests of North America beyond the periphery of European control were the primary means of Native American contact with the Dutch and their to European and world goods.[42]

Needless to say, the term boschloper did not have a cut and dry meaning and arguably neither did the historical actors whom the term applies to. Granted that larger traders such as Arent Van Curlier played an important role as cultural intermediaries, this should not diminish our

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[39] Ibid, 106 and J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 376

[40] Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 96-97

[41] I have used Mahicans instead of Mohicans although either spelling is correct. The reason that I have chosen Mahicans is that most scholarly texts spell it this way, Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 61-63, 76-80 For Iroquois baptisms and the Dutch disinterest in conversion, see Jose Maria Brandao. *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and its Native Allies to 1701*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), pages 135-139. For a description of Huron baptisms in New France, see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France,1610-1791*. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html C.R. Boxer *The Dutch Seaborne Empire 1600-1800* (London: Penguin Books. 1990), page 168. James Lockhart. *Spanish Peru, 1532-1560*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1968), pages 77-78, 94-95.

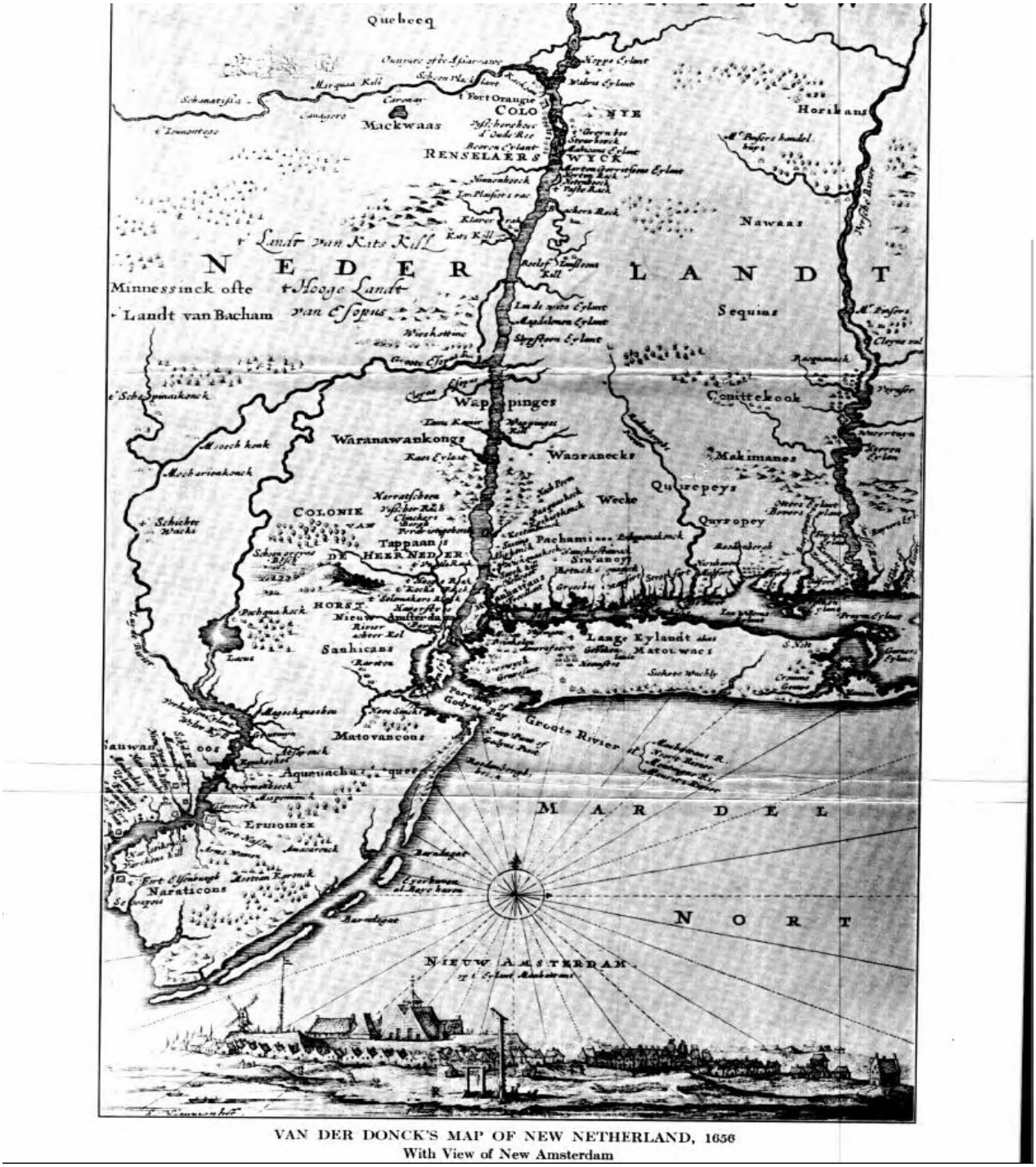
[42] Rensselaerswijck was actually a separate landholding grant (a patroonship) that the Dutch West India Company sold to Killian Van Rensselaer, a wealthy Amsterdam diamond merchant, who was also a shareholder in the company. Van Rensselaer enjoyed a small degree of autonomy in the early seventeenth century. I have grouped Van Rensselaer's holdings into my discussion of North American Dutch colonial possessions because the West India Company over time usurped the Patroon's authority over his own holdings, culminating in a showdown of political intrigue between the Rensselaerswijck's director general and Stuyvesant. For more information on Killian Van Rensselaer, his patroonship, and the clash with Stuyvesant, please see Samuel George Nissenson,. The Patroon's Domain. (New York: Octagon Books, 1973) and Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences*. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990). Geographical note: Fort Orange is now called Albany, the English renamed it after conquering New Netherland. See Robert Ritchie. The Duke's Providence: A Study of New York's Politics and Society, 1664-1691. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), page 23

understanding of how important the everyday trader was in this aspect.[43] It is also impossible and inaccurate for historians to draw a real distinction between large and small traders given the fluid nature of colonial society in New Netherland.[44] From this standpoint, a historian must avoid tempting modern day terms such as "rogue trader" or "smuggler" that do not necessarily capture the terminology of seventeenth century New Netherland. My use of boschloper is also tantamount to wading in a minefield; however I have attempted to be true to its seventeenth century use and context.

The boschlopers of New Netherland through the introduction of European firearms and alcohol drastically changed the culture and way of life for Native Americans in ways that other European goods could not. Historian Daniel K. Richter has effectively analyzed how European consumer items changed the way of life for the Iroquois. My aim is to add another dimension to Richter's treatment of these "controversial" goods, namely firearms and ammunition, gunpowder, and alcohol.[45] My goal in this study is not to displace the importance of clothing, hatchets, steel kettles, or zeewant in exchange for beaver pelts, rather, it is to examine the controversy and the controversial historical actors behind it.[46]

As a historian, I realize that I cannot completely remove myself from the present context, but I wish to explore historical reality in all its ugliness, with as much objectivity as possible, neither

[43] Daniel K. Richter. The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 93-95
[44] Ibid, 79
[45] Zeewant is the Dutch term that refers to seawant or more the commodity more widely known as wampum, Gehring's translation, see Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. Correspondence, 1647-1653. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 273. Since I rely primarily on Dutch sources, I use the Dutch terminology. For a better explanation of the importance of zeewant in Iroquois culture and its role in the legend of the "Peacemaker," see Daniel K. Richter. The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992.), pages 30-32, 39-41
[46] For a better explanation of Iroquois material culture and the exchange for European goods such as hatchets, knives, and zeewant, see Ibid, pages 52-54, 79, 84-85



VAN DER DONCK'S MAP OF NEW NETHERLAND, 1656
With View of New Amsterdam

Figure 1. Adriaen Van Der Donck's 1656 Map of New Netherland from J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 294

vilifying or sanctifying the historical actors. My aim is to show that the seventeenth century traders of New Netherland and the Indians that they bartered with enacted dramatic cultural change in less than a century on both sides of the woods so to speak, through the introduction of European firearms and ammunition, gunpowder, and alcohol. As Alan Gallay astutely noted, we must look at the woods as part of a "broader world, an Atlantic world."[47] Since these contraband items provided the material basis for profound cultural interaction and change, the forests of colonial North America in addition to personal residences provided the setting and dimension for Dutch and Iroquois material and cultural exchange.

It is of great historical significance that the majority of cultural interaction and material exchange between the boschlopers of New Netherland and the Iroquois took place in the woods and in individual homes. As a result, it permitted both Dutch men and women to trade illegal goods such as firearms and ammunition, gunpowder, and alcohol away from the prying eyes of the Dutch West India Company and colonial administration of New Netherland.[48] The Dutch West India Company sought to secure its profits and earnings in the fur-trade through its 1621 charter and subsequent ordinances which strictly forbade colonists who were not company sanctioned merchants from trading with other European powers or with any of the indigenous peoples in the lands controlled by the United Providences of the Netherlands. According to the 1621 Dutch West India Company Charter:

> And whoever shall presume without the consent of this Company, to sail or to traffic in any of the Places within the aforesaid Limits granted to this Company, he shall forfeit the ships and the goods which shall be found for sale upon the aforesaid coasts and lands; the which being actually seized by the aforesaid Company, shall be by them kept for their own Benefit and Behoof.[49]

The central interest of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland was the fur trade and similar to its other holdings in the world where it sought to corner the market on sugar, salt, and slaves, the company sought to monopolize the trade in beaver pelts by initially regulating trade

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[47] Alan Gallay. The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002), page 2.

[48] The Fort Orange Court Minutes mention a woman Indian trader, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 523

[49] E.B. O'Callaghan. ed. *Charter of the Dutch West India Company, 1621: History of New Netherland.* vol I. (New York: D. Appleton and Company. 1855), pages 112-120. Courtesy of the Avalon Project http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon /westind.htm (accessed March 2, 2005)

solely through Fort Orange.[50] To further protect its own commercial interests, the Dutch West India Company wrote this provision into their charter to prevent infringement of company profit from smugglers and traders from other colonies.

The Dutch West India Company encouraged sanctioned traders such as Arent Van Curlier to act as middlemen between the Indians and the Board of Directors in Amsterdam. The company allowed men like Curlier to trade only at their specified rates and on company established property, initially only Fort Orange, but later Beverwijck as well. What even further compounded Dutch West India Company trading restrictions on location and price were limitations that relegated trading to the months between May and November, know as the *Handelstijd*[51]. Ideally, the Dutch West India Company wished to create a controlled environment where colonial officials such as the *schout*, Johannes La Montagne could observe and scrutinize the actions of traders to prevent the exchange of contraband goods, namely firearms and ammunition, gunpowder, and alcohol, which Stuyvesant referred to as that "damnable trade."[52]

Adriaen Van Der Donck, *Schout* of New Amsterdam and Cornelius van Tienhoven, the Provincial Secretary of New Netherland agreed that the trade in contraband had ruined legitimate commerce with the Indians.[53] The dwindling supply of beaver pelts, the inflation of zeewant as currency, and the increase of competition from the French, English, and Swedes By the mid-seventeenth century caused severe economic problems in New Netherland.[54]. The Iroquois had experienced a massive influx of European consumer goods over the course of the century and many items such as scissors, knives, hatchets, and clothing was commonplace. With the dwindling supply of beaver pelts and the increasing competition with European colonists and other native peoples, specifically their old enemies, the Huron who had allied themselves with the French. The Iroquois began demanding firearms, gunpowder, and alcohol in exchange for

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[50] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press:, 1986), page 68. For a better description of Dutch economics in the seventeenth century, see Wim Klooster. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. (Leiden: KLTV Press, 1998) and Jonathan I. Israel. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.)

[51] *Handelstijd* literally translated is "trading time", Merwick's translation. Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), page 77.

[52] *Schout* literally translated is sheriff, Gehring's translation, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 43. Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 36-38

[53] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 322

[54] I discuss the inflation of zeewant more extensively in Chapter 5.

their pelts, largely because they attached a greater value to these items and in the specific case of firearms and gunpowder, for their advantage as weapons against the French and the Huron.[55]

Since the Dutch West India Company would not permit its colonists to openly trade contraband items to the Iroquois, boschlopers such as Govert Lockermaans used the woods and individual residences outside of Fort Orange, Beverwijck, and Rensselaerswijck, beyond the West India Company's controlled environment, to ply their trade in contraband goods. The boschlopers had the linguistic and cultural skills to negotiate with the Iroquois in what historian Donna Merwick called, the "ethically ambiguous places," where the law and the dictates of the West India Company could not always penetrate.[56] If the spaces of Fort Orange, Beverwijck, and Rensselaerswijck, and New Amsterdam belonged to the Dutch West India Company, the forests belonged to the boschloper and to the American Indian.

Outside of the spaces controlled by the West India Company the boschloper trade in contraband thrived. The forests and individual residences of New Netherland permitted a level of cultural and material interaction that the environment inside of Fort Orange, Beverwijck, Rensselaerswijck would not permit as the West India Company only allowed its sanctioned traders to exchange goods on its properties and with that only goods that the board of directors approved of such as knives, clothing, axes, and zeewant.[57] The forests and personal residences of New Netherland allowed a much wider portion of the colonial population to participate in the competition to control the beaver trade. Both men and women from wealthy merchants to bakers could become boschlopers, using contraband goods to gain leverage over the West India Company, other boschlopers, and their neighbors.[58]

The Iroquois also came to prefer the trade with the boschlopers outside of West India Company holdings because they were more likely to obtain the material goods they desired, especially firearms, powder, and shot in exchange for their beaver pelts. The Iroquois would have to wade through hostile legions of the French and their Huron allies and hunt beaver in the freezing cold, also diverting their hunting activity and resources for food. The Dutch also expected them to carry their wares all the way back through the same hostile territory to Fort

[55] For a more in depth look at the Iroquois transition from utilitarian goods to firearms, see Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina), pages 52-54, 62-63, 74

[56] Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), page 95 and Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. Albany: (The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 163-167

[57] Ibid, 88-89

Orange. To top it off, once the Mohawk traders arrived at Fort Orange, the Dutch traders did not always have the goods that they wanted as one Mohawk elder noted

We have to travel so far with our pelts and when we arrive (at Fort Orange) we often find no cloth, no zeewant, no axes, kettles, or anything else; thus we have labored in vain. Then we have to go back a long way carrying our goods.[59]

If the Dutch did not have the goods to trade at Fort Orange, the Mohawk would carry their pelts elsewhere, to the French, the English, the Swedes, or to the boschlopers waiting in the woods with the more rare contraband items they had came to prize more than knives, kettles, and even zeewant.

To keep the Mohawk from bringing their coveted beaver pelts to New Netherland in vain, boschlopers carrying firearms, gunpowder, shot, or alcohol would travel into the woods searching for Indians carrying beaver pelts to entice them into not traveling to Fort Orange. Traders who could afford servants or who could not carry massive quantities of contraband into the forest often hired a fellow Dutchman or a Mohawk to act as their trade broker in the woods. These brokers zeroed in on Indians with pelts to promise that their employer possessed the goods that they were looking for.[60] Boschlopers such as Poulis Jansen, who, when the *schout* Johannes La Montagne apprehended him, Jansen claimed that he was "picking blueberries in the woods" when in truth, as he later confessed, he had slipped out of the fort at midnight carrying a cask of brandy to the Indians' house on the island directly opposite" to exchange it for beavers. Jansen also admitted that he gave the beavers that he had traded for to the wife of Hans Vosch, Johannes La Montagne's deputy *schout* who had given the cask of brandy to Jansen "by means of a rope through a loophole" at Fort Orange.[61]

Jacob Reyntjes in an extended 1648 court case confessed to Governor Stuyvesant that he and his partner, Jacob Schermerhoorn had engaged in the "trade and traffic of guns, powder, and

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[58] Ibid, 93-95

[59] The Iroquois League of Peace and Power was comprised of five nations, The Mohawk, the Seneca, the Onondaga, the Oneida, and the Cayuga. Out of the five nations, the ones that had the most frequent contact with the Dutch were the Mohawk, the Oneida, and the Seneca. For a more in depth study of the Iroquois Great League of Peace and Power, see Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992) and Jose Antonio Brandao. *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and its Native Allies to 1701.* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998) Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and eds. *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), page 15

[60] Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), page 89

lead" outside of Fort Orange since March of 1647.[62] Reyntjes admitted that he had purchased guns "wherever he could get them" and also illegally purchased West India Company firearms, barrels, and *snaphance* locks from the company smith, Corporal Barent Reyndertsz.[63] Reyntjes testified that he then sent his contraband goods by bark to his partner, Jacob Schermerhoorn to sell to the Indians outside of Fort Orange. Besides Reyntjes' self incriminating testimony, the *schout*, Johannes La Montagne found a further damning letter from Reyntjes to Schermerhoorn that stated "Partner, the Company's smith has informed against me. Hide the guns, or otherwise there might be trouble."[64] Reyntjes' and Jansen's testimonies along with the above self-incriminating letter illustrates how active the boschlopers were outside of the spaces controlled by the Dutch West India Company and that they relied on the forests and personal residences of New Netherland to trade their contraband goods in secrecy. These cases also reveal that the boschloper did not act alone as they often relied on tradesmen and brokers to give them the edge over the West India Company, competing traders, and their own neighbors.

The New Netherland trade for beaver pelts in the woods was a cutthroat enterprise rife with competition that often resulted in the litigious Dutch frequently denouncing their neighbors or their competitors for engaging in the same illegal trade practices.[65] Upon discovery of an Indian with furs, a boschloper would inform them that the trader they were seeking was out of goods or that they had ran out of trading goods at Fort Orange once again.[66] The same Jacob Schermerhoorn, now a magistrate whom the Council of New Netherland convicted of trading firearms with Jacob Reyntjes in 1648 testified in a 1660 Fort Orange Court case that he saw "An Indian go to the hill with a white blanket around his body, which said Indian brought back with him two Indians with beavers and entered the house of Volkert Jansen. Immediately after he saw

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[61] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 386-387

[62] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed.. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* (New York Historical Manuscripts Series. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 532-533

[63] A snaphance lock firearm was a Dutch flintlock operated firearm that had a distinct advantage to matchlock operated arms in that the operator did not have to keep the match lit at all times to fire. During the mid-seventeenth century the snaphance was the most advanced flint-operated firearm that the Dutch produced. For a more in depth explanation and comparison to matchlock and wheel lock arms, please reference Harold K. Peterson. *Arms and Armor in Colonial America, 1526-1783*. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1956), pages 46-47

[64] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 532-535

[65] The seventeenth century Dutch of New Netherland lived under Roman Law, which they inherited from the Spaniards. Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), page 80

[66] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 503

the same Indian again go toward the hill and bring back another Indian with beavers."[67] Jacob Teunissen who was *schout bij nacht* around July 19, 1658 accused Adriaen Janssen van Leyden, alias Appel and Jan Martensen on two separate occasions of selling brandy to the Indians only to later face conviction himself. Johannes La Montagne accused Teunissen of "going into the woods for Cornelius Teunissen Bosch, a shoemaker, in order to attract the Indians with beavers."[68] In August of 1657, Magistrate Jan Thomassen testified that he witnessed Marten Bierkaecker, an innkeeper sell a kettle full of brandy and sugar to an Indian for one beaver however, the Fort Orange Court later accused Thomassen of "sending brokers into the woods" and the court also refused his request to build a shed in order to "accommodate Indians."[69]

Accommodating and attracting Indians to individual homes gave competing traders evidence to testify against each other in the Fort Orange Court with the hopes that the downfall of their commercial rivals in the forest would yield a greater share of the pelt trade. It certainly did not help matters that floating offices such as *schout bij nacht* gave boschlopers the opportunity to bring charges against their competition in court in order to have them imprisoned, banished, or have all of their possessions confiscated. Having colonial magistrates that were boschlopers with a vested interest in contraband trade certainly did not ensure blind justice and neither did it make relationships between colonists any more amenable and guaranteed that anyone daring enough to trade or send brokers into the woods faced a tremendous gamble.[70] As a result, trade rivalries between boschlopers created an inhospitable and rancorous climate that frequently spilled over into the forests of New Netherland in the form of violence against the Iroquois.

The boschlopers of New Netherland often resorted to coercive and violent measures when bribery and glibness failed to win them desired beaver pelts from their potential Iroquois customers. Doubtless, Govert Lockermaans would not win an award for being the most humanitarian boschloper as Cornelius van Tienhoven had once witnessed him torturing "a Raritan chief's brother in his private parts with a piece of split wood."[71] Lockermaans was by far not the only Dutchman to use violence in the woods to get what he wanted as a group of Mohawks complained that they had been physically assaulted by a band of marauding Dutchmen on horseback, "knocking and throwing them to the ground and leaving the Indians to run after

[67] Ibid, 498
[68] *Schout bij nacht* literally translates into sheriff by night, Gehring's translation. Ibid, 389, 392, 436-437
[69] Ibid, 288, 500
[70] Boschloper magistrates Jan Thomassen and Jacob Schermerhoorn. Ibid, pages 498, 500
[71] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 208

them." Johannes La Montagne, the schout of Fort Orange accused Jochim de Backer of beating an Indian in his home and stealing his pouch of zeewant.[72]

A 1660 delegation of the Seneca Nation of the Iroquois league complained that "the Dutch are sending so many brokers into the woods from one house, that they do not know where to go with their beavers" and that "sometimes when they are in a trader's house and they wish to go to another man's house to buy goods that appeal to them they are severely beaten till they hardly know where there eyes are."[73] On the other side of the coin, one Mohawk managed to get the upper hand on some boschlopers who had cheated him and upon discovering that he had gave too many beavers for too little brandy. The aforesaid Mohawk returned to the home of Jan Andreriessen de Graff and Pieter Jacobsen Boschboom to obtain the brandy owed him. A fight ensued with the Mohawk emerging victorious from the house, carrying a keg of brandy, but minus his beavers. The Mohawk involved in the altercation also reported the incidence to Dutch officials and demanded the return of his beaver pelts. The Fort Orange Court fined both Jan Andreriessen de Graff and Pieter Jacobsen Boschboom to pay the two beaver pelts, plus a fine of "one-hundred and twenty five guilders" and cover the court fees for their disturbance.[74]

Although the company did attempt to redress a small measure of the boschloper inflicted injustices against the Iroquois, they never exerted full control outside of Manhattan. The company could not always ensure the safety of the Indians who came to trade their peltries with the Dutch. If the trade in the forests and in personal residences was a legal and financial risk for the Dutch boschloper, it was a physical and life threatening experience for the Iroquois who dared wading through the legions of brokers in the woods. By traveling to the Dutch settlements, the Iroquois only faced more hostility and the all too frequent possibility of New Netherlanders cheating them or stealing their pelts. Relations between the nations of the Iroquois League and the Dutch turned sour towards the mid-seventeenth century, partially over their lack of commitment in aiding them fight the French and their Huron allies, but also because of hostile Dutch boschlopers and their violent and aggressive trading practices.[75]

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[72] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 352

[73] Ibid, 517

[74] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 357-358

[75] A Mohawk sachem told a Dutch envoy that they were "too much afraid" to help them fight the French, see Ibid, 454

A 1660 Seneca envoy to Fort Orange asked the Dutch to stop the boschlopers from maltreating Indians that come to New Netherland to trade or they promised that they would "go away" and that the Dutch would not "see them anymore." This is precisely the direction that the Northern nations of Iroquois League took when they made peace with the French and the Huron in 1667.[76] The Jesuit Fathers of New France carefully documented Iroquois discontent with their Dutch trading partners much earlier than 1660 as Father Le Jeune noted in his 1641 relation:

> They would call a general assembly of the most distinguished persons of all the Hiroquois Nations in order to publish everywhere the generosity and the liberality of the French; in short, they made a last present to declare that they would give a kick to the Dutch, with whom they no longer wished to have any intercourse, they said ... assuring us that they prefer us to the Dutch, extolling us above the generality of men.[77]

As early as 1641, this Iroquois envoy made overtures that they would much rather establish a trading partnership with the French rather than the Dutch. Father Le Jeune in his relation seriously questioned the motives of the Iroquois for wanting to break their alliance with the Dutch in favor of the French, rhetorically asking "Could they more artfully induce us to give them arms?" however, Le Jeune viewed the Iroquois as warlike and bloodthirsty, asserting that they only wished for this peace in order to slaughter the Huron without French interference.[78] Le Jeune's decidedly one-dimensional perception of the Iroquois does not encompass the other complaints and grievances that the Iroquois had against the Dutch and their boschlopers, but it is still important as it illustrates the discontent that the Iroquois had with their Dutch trading partners.

Peter Stuyvesant, the peg-legged and hard-nosed Calvinist Governor General of New Netherland knew that Dutch relations with their Iroquois neighbors had turned for the worse in the late 1650's.[79] To prevent Dutchmen from roaming in the woods, Stuyvesant renewed several older ordinances in 1660 which prohibited the boschloper from using the woods as a brokering ground to coerce or beat Indians into trading with them. The 1660 Ordinance also renewed the ban on the sale of alcohol to Indians as Stuyvesant proclaimed:

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[76] Ibid, 503. For a description of the Seneca peace with the French and the Huron, see Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 102, 104

[77] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.* *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005).

[78] Ibid, (accessed 16 January 2005)

That no one, of whatever nation or capacity he may be, shall directly or indirectly send any Christians or Indians as brokers into the woods, either with or without presents, to fetch or entice any Indians… Secondly, no one shall be allowed to take from the Indians, whether in the woods, without or within the settlements, houses or places, any beavers, to carry them for the Indians on horses, carts, or on their backs… Thirdly, if it should come to pass that any Indians, whether voluntarily, or induced thereto by other Indians, should come with their peltries into any houses, either without or within the settlement of Beverwijck, Fort Orange, or the colony of Rensselaerswijck, no person, of what nation or quality he may be shall take away or lock away the peltries of such Indians against their will, much less impede, prevent, or hinder the Indians from going with their peltries where they please… Fourthly, and lastly the ordinance and regulation heretofore enacted by the director general and the council aforesaid respecting the sale, giving or presenting of wine, brandy, strong liquor, or beer to the Indians, is hereby renewed, and the *schouts* and officers of the village of Beverwijck as well as of the colony of Rensselaerswijck, are hereby ordered and commanded to enforce and to execute this and the previously enacted orders and regulations more strictly, as they ought to be. [80]

Stuyvesant aimed this ordinance directly at the boschloper. The ordinance incorporated some of the same language from the diplomatic envoys that the Mohawk and the Seneca sent in 1659-1660, namely that Indian traders should be able to go where they please, that they should not have their peltries locked up, and it addressed numerous complaints by the Indians about the large number of brokers in the woods.[81] The Ordinance of 1660 directly addressed the major problems that the Iroquois wanted the Dutch to take action against and its provisions specifically address some of the court cases that the colonial administration heard through the Fort Orange Court, such as the instance where the Mohawk brought suit against Jan Andreriessen de Graff and Pieter Jacobsen Boschboom for cheating him and taking his beaver pelts.[82]

This ordinance combined with Indian testimony to the Jesuits of New France illustrates that the boschlopers of New Netherland, functioning as cultural intermediaries, had given the Iroquois pause into rethinking their alliance and trading partnership with the Dutch, especially for the Seneca, who lived closer to the French. As the Seneca envoy rhetorically asked the council at Fort Orange in 1660 in regard to the violent antics of the boschlopers who had beaten Iroquois traders to take their peltries "Who of the three nations are to be the masters, the Mohawk, the Seneca, or the Dutch?"[83] Clearly, Stuyvesant and the Mohawk sachems were in

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[79] For more biographical information on Stuyvesant, see Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pages 146-166

[80] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 514

[81] Ibid, pages 453-454, 516-517

[82] Ibid, pages 357-358

[83] Ibid, page 503

agreement that the boschlopers of New Netherland had created a diplomatic and cultural impasse in the forests surrounding Fort Orange, Beverwijck, and Rensselaerswijck which eventually pushed the Seneca, the Northern nation of the Iroquois into making an overture to break with the Dutch and establish a trading alliance with the French instead.[84]

Taken together, the writings of the French Jesuit Fathers, the requests of the Mohawk and Seneca diplomatic envoys, and the 1660 Ordinance testify to a cultural rift between the Iroquois centered on the activity of the boschloper. Iroquois customs of distributing excess possessions to those without is clear from the 1660 protest of a Seneca sachem who, in anger over the boschlopers pulling Iroquois traders "this way and that" stated that "each house ought to have something."[85]To the Iroquois, the ability to distribute goods to those without symbolized a form of power and control, taking care of one's people by controlling the access to food and to European goods. The most powerful sachems and headmen often had very little in the way of possessions and the Iroquois could only scoff at the antics of the Dutch boschlopers and their drive to outdo and accumulate more wealth than their neighbors.[86]

The testimony of Cornelius Bosch Teunissen, shoemaker from Manhattan offers a sharp contrast to the words of the Mohawk sachem when he said that "He wiped his ass on the ordinance" further stating that "I don't give a damn about the magistrates and shall go into the woods to prove it, and they are a lot of perjurers if they do not punish the others."[87] Clearly, the boschlopers of New Netherland created quite a disturbance in the relationship between the Dutch and the Iroquois, a disturbance which reveals their centrality as cultural intermediaries, highlighting the differences in Dutch and Iroquois world views and the attempt by both parties to come to grips with and reconcile these differences. The 1660 Ordinance was the Dutch attempt to curtail the activities of the boschloper and move the center of cultural interaction from the woods back to the controlled environment of the West India Company. As the words of Cornelius Bosch Teunissen reveal, not all of the Dutch boschlopers respected and abided by the 1660 Ordinance and the colonial administration of New Netherland did not punish all crimes and people equally under the law.

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[84] Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 102, 104

[85] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 517

[86] Daniel K. Richter. *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 48-49, 53-53

When Director General Stuyvesant issued the 1660 Ordinance, he had certain priorities and limitations that dictated his response to the boschloper and the trade in contraband. Stuyvesant and the colonial administration of New Netherland had limited resources in the way of manpower, material, and administrative support from the West India Company. The struggle for empire amongst Europeans inextricably bound the fate and fortune of New Netherland to how well the Dutch West India Company fared in war against the Spanish, the Portuguese, and the English. Since the directors of the West India Company placed a higher degree of importance on Brazil and the Islands in the Caribbean, New Netherland could expect fewer resources and less company aid.[88] With a small amount of company officials to enforce the laws of New Netherland, Stuyvesant had to tailor his responses in containing the boschloper to his political and personal priorities.

In the 1600 Ordinance, Stuyvesant appealed to colonial officials to enforce the provision against the sale of alcohol to Indians "more strictly" than they had in the past.[89] Stuyvesant had a strong disdain for the excess of alcohol and doubtless the fact that his father was a Calvinist minister and Stuyvesant's own religious convictions played a huge role, but there was also a more practical element to his actions such as the safety of both Indians and Dutch colonists. Cornelius van Tienhoven in April 1656 wrote that in Fort Orange "two Indians from Mochgeyck-konck were apprehended who were extremely drunk and running around the streets here and in the fort with a great deal of noise." The council of New Netherland warned that the Indians "following previous custom drink themselves drunk, from which nothing more than new misfortunes (may God make it no worse) and more misery is to be feared" and that there were "bad consequences of both the sheltering and the excessive drinking of the Indians."[90] Whether or not neighboring Indians had the propensity to come into town and "drink themselves drunk" is open to serious debate, but in the seventeenth century context of New Netherland, the Dutch had a very real fear that alcohol would cause Indians to go on a drunken rampage through town.

The cultural perception of seventeenth century Dutch colonists was that Indians were irrational and childlike and Governor General Stuyvesant was a part of this discourse. In the

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[87] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 444

[88] C.R. Boxer *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (London: Penguin Books. 1957), pages 14, 21, 30-31 and Hugo Grotius, *The Freedom of the Seas* (1916, Ralph Van Deman Magoffin, Batoche Books, 2000)

[89] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 514

period between 1652 and 1660, Stuyvesant renewed the ordinance against selling alcohol to the Indians two times as opposed to renewing the ban on brokers in the woods only once, and never renewing former Governor Willem Kieft's 1645 Ordinance against trading firearms on pain of death at all.[91] Out of twenty seven criminal cases between 1652 and 1660 where the Council of New Netherland recommended banishment, the majority of the cases involved selling alcohol to Indians, seconded by theft, and followed by the cased that involved defamation of character against colonial officials.[92] Only one case involved the sale of contraband firearms, gunpowder, and shot, but in this specific instance, the fiscal also accused Jacob Reyntjes of stealing the contraband goods that he sold from the West India Company.[93] The combination of legislation and the court cases show that Stuyvesant and the colonial administration leaned hardest on the boschlopers caught selling alcohol to Indians and at times tolerated those who pedaled firearms, gunpowder and shot to the Iroquois like Govert Lockermaans and Jacob Schermerhoorn. It is of no small consequence that Stuyvesant later appointed Lockermaans to represent the merchants in the New Netherland Council of the Nine and the colonial administration appointed Schermerhoorn to the office of magistrate as the governor general most likely had a vested interest in the arms trade.[94]

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[90] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1655-1656*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), pages 254-255

[91] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 576. Stuyvesant did approve a weaker renewal of Kieft's 1645 Ordinance in 1648 with watered down language however, the approval of the 1648 renewal does not appear in any of the subsequent Council Minutes and it was only a year later that the West India Company approved the limited sale of firearms to the Iroquois. A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 533, 562

[92] The twenty seven court cases that involved banishment as a sentence can be found in Ibid, pages 252, 254, 328, 350, 351, 253, 181, 210, 388, 350, 386, 462, 465-466, 168, Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1655-1656.* New Netherland Document Series.(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), pages 51-52, 203, 247, 295 and Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), pages 106, 126, 195, 204, 211-212, 214, 67, 182.

[93] Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983), pages 105-106

[94] Russell Shorto refers to a scandal involving Stuyvesant and a crate of smuggled firearms in the Governor General's possession and his intention to sell them to the Indians this in Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), page 203. Stuyvesant did make a personal gift of a snaphance musket to a Mohawk sachem in 1649. Stuyvesant did keep up the rudimentary framework around Kieft's 1645 Ordinance so it would not jeopardize his attempts to secure a diplomatic peace over border disputes with the New England colonies, prosecuting those boschlopers who traded in firearms from time to time to maintain the allegiance of the Iroquois. I argue that Stuyvesant used Kieft's 1645 Ordinance in matters of political expedience. For more on Kieft's 1645 Ordinance, please reference A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* (New York Historical Manuscripts Series. Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 533-534, 562. For Lockermaans and his appointment to the Council of Nine, please reference Ibid, page 439. Schermerhoorn as magistrate, Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort*

In 1650, the French Jesuit, Father Jogues accused Stuyvesant directly of supplying the Iroquois with firearms, stating that the leadership of New France had dispatched a Captain Willet with letters "to the governor of Manate, in order to prevent him from further trading arms to the Iroquois."[95] Father Jogues was correct as the Council of the Nine under Stuyvesant approved the sale of firearms to the Iroquois from 1649 to 1652 when the Holland States General demanded that the trade cease. In 1652, Governor General Stuyvesant managed to convince the Holland States General to allow New Netherland traders to deal in firearms once again, stating that they would do it "as sparingly as possible, for reasons and motives which shall be in time communicated."[96] When Stuyvesant accepted the office of Director General in 1647, he realized that the colony of New Netherland sat in a precarious situation. New Netherland faced territorial encroachment from the English colonists of New Haven, trade infringement to the North from the Swedes, and a declining supply of peltries whish many Dutch traders believed to be the fault of the French and their Huron allies.[97] The "reasons and motives" that the New Netherland Council of Nine most likely referred to were Stuyvesant's and from the moment that he arrived in New Netherland, he began dealing with the New England governors to resolve territorial disputes to ensure the integrity of New Netherland and led a campaign against the Swedes, ousting them in 1655.[98] Stuyvesant knew the Indian allies of the Dutch wanted firearms to fight the French and the Huron in order to obtain peltries which the economy of New Netherland depended on. This is why Stuyvesant treated Lockermaans with kid-gloves, until the boschloper crossed him

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Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), 361

[95] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.* *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005).

[96] George T. Hunt. *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960), pages 170-171

[97] For more on the "Beaver Wars" and the English encroachment on New Netherland please see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), Jose Antonio Brandao, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy toward New France and its Native Allies to 1701*. (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998), and George T. Hunt. *The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations*. (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1960). For more on the encroachment of the New England colonies and Stuyvesant's diplomacy, please consult Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), Robert Ritchie. *The Duke's Providence: A Study of New York's Politics and Society*, 1664-1691. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977). For the Swedish incursions and the so called "Peach War," please refer to Amandus Johnson. *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and Relations to the Indians, Dutch, and English 1638-1664.* 2 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1969)

[98] Amandus Johnson. *The Swedish Settlements on the Delaware: Their History and Relations to the Indians, Dutch, and English 1638-1664*. 2 vols. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1969), pages 613-614.

On July 24, 1649, Govert Lockermaans signed Adriaen Van der Donck's Representation of New Netherland as a member of the Council of the Nine and the "chief merchant and Indian trader of the providence."[99] Van der Donck's representation was a political coup that called for the ousting of Stuyvesant as Governor General and for the removal of the West India Company as the authority of the colony in favor of the Holland States General. Earlier than that in 1647, Lockermaans and the New Netherland Council of Nine had already began making appeals to the Holland States General to remove the West India Company and take over the colony, a threat that Stuyvesant did not take well.[100]

In June of 1648 the ship *de Valckenier* arrived in New Amsterdam. Cornelius Van Tienhoven, fiscal and provincial secretary found out that Lockermaans and his partners had been expecting *de Valckenier* for quite some time. Van Tienhoven relayed the information to Stuyvesant who immediately ordered the yacht *de Liefde* to intercept and impound *de Valckenier.* Once impounded, Stuyvesant ordered the ship "unloaded down to the keel" in search of contraband firearms, ammunition, and lead. Six days later on June 29th, the crew of *de Valckenier* requested that Governor General Stuyvesant allow them to sell their freight and Stuyvesant approved for them to sell "their entered freight here, except the guns which the honorable Company shall appropriate and pay for at the discretion of the council."[101] Interestingly enough, Lockermaans did not face any penal charges from this incident and the sailors of *de Valckenier* most likely left happy having sold their cargo and compensated for the firearms that the West India Company confiscated.

Lockermaans did later face banishment in 1651 in the fallout of the failed Van der Donck coup and Stuyvesant charged him with "violating the revenue laws" but stayed the sentence on the condition that Lockermaans "say nothing against the Director general."[102] Stuyvesant made the rules clear to Lockermaans and the other boschlopers who traded firearms, gunpowder, and lead to the Indians, that the governor general would turn a blind eye to their trade in contraband

[99] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 290
[100] For a descriptive narrative of Van der Donck's coup against Stuyvesant, see Russell Shorto. *The Island at the Center of the World: The Epic Story of Dutch Manhattan and the Colony that Shaped America*. (New York: Doubleday, 2004), pages 191-208
[101] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 526-528
[102] E. B. O'Callaghan. *The History of New Netherland*. 2 vols. (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), page 170

as long as they did not impugn him, threaten his office or make themselves too obvious like Lockermaans did in New Haven.[103]

The boschlopers of New Netherland excelled in keeping their trade in firearms out of sight of the ever-watchful colonial administrators and New England Governors, a fact most evidenced by their system for smuggling firearms, gunpowder, and shot to the Iroquois. While the Dutch West India Company were unwilling to supply the Iroquois with the latest in European weapons technology, boschlopers such as Govert Lockermaans were more than eager to exchange for beaver pelts and devised ingenious ways to smuggle firearms into New Netherland.

A 1648 meeting between the Council of the Nine Representatives of New Netherland and Stuyvesant reveals some of the methods that the boschlopers used in smuggling firearms, gunpowder, and shot into the colony. The council reported to Stuyvesant that: before the ships came to anchor in front of Manhattan, either by having such contraband goods, in watertight casks and boxes purposely prepared thereto in the fatherland, thrown overboard under the nose of a careless watchman and afterwards fished up again as occasion offered.[104]

Within these watertight casks and crates, packed in thick layers of grease were all the necessary metal components to construct a *snaphance* musket and the only component missing to construct a complete weapon was the wooden stock.[105] Once a boschloper fished the contraband cargo out of the bay, they would then contract with a *lademacker* and a blacksmith, the former to manufacture the gunstock and the latter attached the flashpan, the trigger mechanism, and the snaphance flintlock to the barrel.[106] The finished product was a North American made firearm that paralleled some of the most recent advances in weapons technology that Western Europe had to offer, ready to trade to the Iroquois in exchange for furs.[107]

The lademacker and blacksmith trades were the backbone of the boschlopers' trade in firearms. These artisans were critical enough that boschlopers, such as Govert Lockermaans, Dutch trader and boschloper of ill-repute, had them in their continual employ as a part of their smuggling ring. A complaint from a perturbed baker named Joost Teunisz accused the company blacksmith Corporal Barent who was in the employ of Govert Lockermaans, of twice stealing the

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[103] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 32-34

[104] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), page 525

[105] Charles T. Gehring, *Personal Communication*, April 1, 2005

[106] A *lademacker* was a gunstock maker, Gehring's translation. Charles T. Gehring, *Personal Communication*, April 1, 2005

snaphance lock from a musket that he had brought to the smith for repair. Lambert had allegedly stated that he could not return the snaphance lock to Teunisz because "he could not give the locks to any person but Lockermaans, which said Lockermaans had forbidden him."[108] This event which became a visceral court case illustrates two things, that Lockermaans desired to arm American Indians with the latest in European weapons technology and it shows how much the boschloper depended on lademacker and blacksmiths to manufacture and at times appropriate the pieces necessary to construct firearms necessary for their trade.[109]

Through their contact with the Iroquois and exchange of firearms for beaver pelts, the boschlopers laid the foundation for a fledgling artisan class in New Netherland, specifically in the case of colonial gunstock makers and blacksmiths. The boschlopers tied these artisans to an element of the colonial economy that they otherwise would not be involved in. Due to the boschlopers' trade in firearms, the Indians also grew dependent on Dutch blacksmiths and gunstock makers to repair their firearms which further developed and strengthened cultural and economic ties between the Iroquois and New Netherland. The role of these artisans in repairing firearms for the Indians also illustrates one of the major collision points between Iroquois and Dutch cultures.

As a part of their culture, the Iroquois believed in a reciprocal exchange in gifts and good thoughts which stemmed from two traditional epics on the creation of the world and of the "Peacemaker."[110] A diplomatic envoy of Iroquois in 1659 requested that "the smiths, when they have no money, shall nonetheless repair their possessions, regardless of whether they have much or little sewant" reminding the Dutch that they were "brothers" bound to the Iroquois by "the covenant chain."[111]

The seventeenth century Dutch world view differed dramatically from their Iroquois allies and was a hodgepodge of Christian humanist ideas and Calvinist morals that favored earning material gain through diligent and hard work.[112] In September of the same year, the Dutch envoy

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[107] Charles T. Gehring, *Personal Communication*, April 1, 2005
[108] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), page 522
[109] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), page 522
[110] Daniel K. Richter. The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 32-38
[111] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 453-454
[112] For an excellent description of Dutch culture in the seventeenth century, see Simon Schama. *The Embarrassment of Riches: An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age* (New York: Vintage Books. 1997)

replied that "we cannot compel our smiths and our gunstock makers to repair the guns of our brothers without receiving pay for it, as they must earn a living for their wives and children, who would otherwise perish from hunger, and they would depart from our country if they received no sewant for their work, and then we and our brothers would be sorely in need of them."[113] This dialogue reveals how the Iroquois had not only became reliant on the boschlopers of New Netherland to supply them with firearms, but also illustrates one of the first steps in Dutch-Iroquois relations going beyond the exchange of material goods into a realm of mutual economic and cultural dependency. It also illuminates the struggle for cultural dominance between two widely divergent world views and Dutch-Iroquois attempts to reconcile their differences, creating a new cultural discourse that was neither Indian nor European, but colonial North American. Govert Lockermaans and the generation of Dutch boschlopers in the mid seventeenth century had indelibly left their mark on both New Netherland and the Iroquois League. The next chapter turns to the importance of firearms and munitions and how the boschlopers traded these contraband goods to maintain peace between the Iroquois and the Dutch.

[113] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 457-458

CHAPTER 3

ARMING THE IROQUOIS

On the chill, spring morning of May 24, 1651, a Mohawk raiding party captured Pierre Esprit Radisson, a colonist of New France who had been hunting with two of his countrymen near the Three Rivers.[114] Radisson had left his hunting companions in search of ducks, geese and other fowl and after a successful hunt, headed back to the agreed meeting place to await his compatriots. To his horror, Radisson found his companions scalped and lying dead in a pool of blood. They had been shot and suffered multiple hatchet blows to their skulls. Hearing noises in the surrounding brush, Radisson hastily loaded his matchlock pistol, ready to fight his way through the band of Mohawks that had taken the lives of his associates. Radisson suddenly heard loud cries and gunfire from behind him and quickly discovered that the Mohawk had him surrounded. In vain, Radisson shot his pistol, missing his assailants who knocked him to the ground and bound him for transport to a Mohawk village where he would live as a captive for the next three years.[115]

Although briefly portrayed here, Radisson's narrative is important in several ways. Not only does it illustrate the adoptive nature that Iroquois captivity could assume, it is also one of the few surviving seventeenth-century European accounts that relays the conditions of everyday life amongst colonial America's native peoples. For the purpose of understanding cultural change through the introduction of European firearms by the Dutch, Radisson's narrative more importantly highlights how the Iroquois adapted firearms to their way of life.

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[114] The "Three Rivers" referred to one of the colonial settlements in New France founded in 1634 Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 58.

[115] Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. Syracuse: (Syracuse University Press, 1996), pages 63-65

During his three-years living with the Mohawk, Radisson accompanied his Iroquois father and brothers on hunting expeditions and raids against the enemies of the Iroquois. On one journey to Three Rivers, Radisson recalled stopping at a Mohawk village named Nojottga to rearm with six pounds of powder and fifteen pounds of shot. Radisson and his Mohawk companions embarked on a journey of several days through the forests, lakes, and streams of New France, carrying their muskets to raid the villages belonging to colonists Together with his Mohawk comrades in arms, Radisson stalked the residents of two villages for several days, using the cover of darkness and the surrounding forest to their advantage.[116] At the end of a long period of surveillance, Radisson and company sprang from the woods and the men and women of the villages "fought and defended themselves lustily; but [there is] no resisting the strongest party, for our guns were a terror to them, and made them give over."[117] With their firearms, Radisson and his Mohawk compatriots had caught their enemies by surprise, raiding a village whose population was much larger than their assembled band, taking five captives and twenty-two heads.[118] Radisson was correct to believe that firearms gave him and his Mohawk comrades an advantage over their enemies, however his narrative reveals that the Iroquois had adopted and adapted European firearms to their way of life.

Pierre Esprit Radisson's account clearly demonstrates how the Iroquois within the span of a generation had mastered European firearms and adapted them to their culture.[119] Even more remarkably, it reveals that a band of Iroquois with muskets not only overcame three well-armed Frenchmen, but an entire village of colonists. Popular American mythologies credits the innovative frontiersman and his firearms technology as the decisive factor in defeating Native Americans and ousting these people from their lands, but Radisson's narrative reveals that a tremendous technology gap did not exist between the Iroquois and the French by the 1650's.[120]

Radisson's story is testimony that like many other native peoples in the American Northeast, the Iroquois had mastered the use of firearms by the 1650's and applied them with an effectiveness that a contemporary colonial militia could only hope to match. Within thirty years, the introduction of firearms transformed the Iroquoian way of war which gave them a tactical

[116] Ibid, pages 82-86
[117] Ibid, page 86
[118] Ibid, page 87
[119] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), page 36
[120] Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 41-42.

advantage over their colonial and Native American neighbors. The boschlopers of New Netherland were essential in arming the Iroquois as they combined the skills of colonial artisans with the wealth of powerful merchants to produce a continuous supply of contraband firearms and munitions. The boschlopers used the inlets, bays, and forests surrounding their community to oppose the Dutch West India Company and assert their right to trade as free Dutchmen.[121] The actions of the boschlopers within these spaces were essential for daily negotiation and maintenance of the Dutch diplomatic trading alliance with the Iroquois.[122]

Traditionally, historians have assumed Native Americans were the helpless victims of encroachment, disease, and European technology. The idea that firearms conquered the "savage" frontier is central myth to this misconstrued historical narrative.[123] Linked to this narrative is the concept that Native Americans were too unsophisticated to wield firearms with any effectiveness and their reference to guns as "thunder sticks" confirmed their inability to comprehend and operate European technology. Nothing could have been farther from the truth. The Iroquois mastered the use of firearms technology within one generation at a level that rivaled European colonists. As Adrien Van Der Donck explained in 1650:

> Their weapons formerly were the bow and arrow, which they employ with wonderful skill, and the cudgel, but they now, that is, those who live near the Christians or have many dealings with them, generally use firelocks and hatchets, which they obtain in trade. They are exceedingly fond of guns, sparing no expense for them; and are so skilful in the use of them that they surpass many Christians.[124]

While Van Der Donck recognized Iroquois expertise with firearms, earlier colonial observers often underestimated the aptitude of Indians to use firearms and wrongfully assumed that the mere appearance of guns filled them with terror.

A similar assumption nearly cost French explorer Samuel de Champlain his life while besieging an Iroquois fort in 1615. Champlain thought that he and his French companions caused the Iroquois to retreat from the battlefield in 1609 after gunfire killed three of their chieftains.[125]

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[121] James H. Merrell's work on Quakers who negotiated with the Iroquois in the Pennsylvania backcountry offers an insightful account of daily interaction between Euro-American colonists and Native Americans, see James H. Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), pages 45-56

[122] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 20-21.

[123] Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 48-51

[124] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 303

[125] E.B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York, Volume III*. (CD ROM.) (Albany: Weed-Parsons & Co. Public Printers, 1849), pages 9, 13-14

Not only was Champlain overconfident about the effectiveness of his guns, he also misinterpreted the Iroquois way of war which did not view death in battle as necessary or honorable.[126] Thinking back to his 1609 battle, Champlain began the October 1615 siege by firing his gun at the Iroquois warriors surrounding the fortification. Never missing an opportunity to gloat, Champlain wrote that his gunshots sent the Iroquois retreating "promptly into their fort, carrying off their wounded and dead" however, such a move actually made strategic sense considering that the Iroquois wished to defend their women and children.[127]

Despite the appearance of Champlain and his guns, the Iroquois continued to put up a stiff resistance against the French and the Huron, barricading their parapets with double the amount of timber to deflect musket balls.[128] Champlain persistently continued to besiege the Iroquois and built a makeshift tower so that he could fire his gun into the fort. Despite his persistence and belief that his gun would win the day, Champlain only made himself a better target atop the tower as the Iroquois seriously wounded him with two arrows.[129] Although Champlain certainly tried to make the superiority of European technology the center of his account he could not hide the fact that the Iroquois did not fear Champlain or his guns. On the contrary, the Iroquois demonstrated a true understanding for how firearms worked by reinforcing the walls of their fort with extra timber, enabling them to regroup and defeat Champlain and the Huron.

While the Iroquois were not terrified of firearms, they were certainly fascinated and wished to learn more about these new weapons. Their best sources of information on guns came from observing Europeans and visitors to an Iroquois community in the early seventeenth century could expect intense curiosity directed towards their guns. The Dutchman Harmen Meyndertsz Van den Bogaert recorded this curiosity that the Iroquois displayed towards firearms in his 1634-1635 journal. Throughout his journey in Iroquoia, numerous individuals repeatedly asked Van den Bogaert and his company to discharge their firearms. When Van den Bogaert and his companions complied by shooting their guns in the air, the Iroquois went away pleased.[130]

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[126] For the Iroquois, death in combat was not a glorious affair. In the Iroquois belief system, death in battle meant that one's spirit would be doomed to wander the Earth for eternity. The Iroquois would also not bury those who died in combat within their villages for fear of their angry and vengeful spirits, see Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." *The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 535-536

[127] E.B. O'Callaghan, *The Documentary History of the State of New York, Volume III*. (CD ROM.) (Albany: Weed-Parsons & Co. Public Printers, 1849), page 13

[128] Ibid, page 14

[129] Ibid, page 14

[130] Ibid, pages 10, 13-14, 19-20

Iroquois curiosity of firearms stemmed from the social emphasis they placed on martial prowess. For an Iroquois male, participation in war parties was an essential part of life and community sachems and headmen came from the ranks of the most charismatic and cunning warriors.[131] The Iroquois trained their men from childhood to be warriors and hunters, skills which easily translated into their ability to use firearms with devastating effect in the forests of colonial North America [132] As combatants, the Iroquois were innovative, adapting strategies to the landscape and their enemies. The Iroquois use of firearms followed this pattern of innovation as they adapted guns to compliment preexisting cultural patterns of warfare and did not abandon bows, arrows, and hatchets in favor of guns, but used them together for maximum effect. This gave birth to what Patrick M. Malone refers to as the "skulking way of war."[133]

While firearms did not completely replace traditional weapons, Iroquois tactics changed substantially with the incorporation of firearms. Before guns, the Iroquois did not rely much on asymmetric tactics and fought their enemies in an open field wearing woven armor as Van den Bogaert observed in 1633:

> There were four with clubs, and some with axes and sticks so that there were 20 men under arms; 9 on one side and 11 on the other. Then they went at each other, fighting and striking. Some wore armor and helmets which they made themselves from thin reeds and cord woven together so that no arrow or axe could penetrate to cause serious injury.[134]

Pre-contact strategies had been sufficient for the Iroquois to attain their primary strategic goal, taking captives to replace the deceased.[135] A "demographic crisis" in the early to mid-seventeenth century forced the Iroquois to devise new strategies to cope with losing a substantial portion of their population. Although no census records exist to provide an accurate death count, Jesuit missionaries recorded that a series of epidemics ravaged the Iroquois from 1647 to 1676.[136] Faced with these epidemics, traditional strategies could not supply the Iroquois with enough captives to offset the tremendous losses to their collective spiritual power and

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[131] Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience*." The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), page 530

[132] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), page 52

[133] Ibid, pages 23-34. Although Michael Bellesiles' work has been officially discredited, it is still useful in understanding how Native Americans adopted and adapted firearms to their way of war, see Michael A. Bellesiles. *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), page 135.

[134] Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and eds. *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert.* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), pages 9-10

[135] Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience*." The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 529-530.

communities.[137] The Iroquois felt the need to invent new tactics that would minimize the risk to their warriors and provide them with the means to take captives on a larger scale. As part of the solution, the Iroquois incorporated the use of firearms to suit their own strategic needs.[138]

To stage large-scale successful ambushes, the Iroquois needed to strike quickly from concealment and render their enemies defenseless before overtaking them.[139] Guns aided the Iroquois in accomplishing both goals and gave warriors a distinct advantage over their enemies. Used effectively, firearms could not only propel a musket ball through light brush, they also produced a loud noise that sent unsuspecting enemies scattering for cover Using guns, small bands of Iroquois warriors used firearms to weaken and disburse larger groups of enemies While their enemies were dazed, the Iroquois would close in with their bows and arrows, clubs, and hatchets.[140] When a band of Iroquois captured Father Isaac Jogues in the summer of 1642, they emerged from the woods and grass to surround the Jesuit and his entourage, firing their muskets without wounding anyone. In the ensuing confusion and panic, Jogues and his Huron entourage fled in terror, only to end up in the hands of the Iroquois with twenty- two of his companions.[141].

Stories from captured Jesuits such as Father Jogues and Father Joseph Poncet whom the Iroquois horribly disfigured during his captivity made the colonists of New France even more apprehensive about traveling in the woods.[142] Though the French knew they were not safe in the woods, their homes also failed to protect them from Iroquois warriors armed with guns as a Jesuit missionary noted astutely:

A Hiroquois will remain for two or three days without food behind a stump, fifty paces from your house, in order to slay the first person who shall fall into his ambush. If he be discovered,

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[136] Ibid, page 537.
[137] Ibid, page 530
[138] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. New York: (Madison Books, 2000), page 23 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 29-31, 54.
[139] Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience*." The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 529-530.
[140] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians.* (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 84, 100 and Daniel K. Richter, The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 79
[141] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005)
[142] Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. Syracuse: (Syracuse University Press, 1996), page 93.

the forest serves him —for an asylum; where a Frenchman would find only hindrance, a Savage will bound as lightly as a deer.[143]

Firearms allowed the Iroquois to attack the French and Huron where they were most vulnerable, an advantage they soon grew accustomed to.[144] Seeking to maintain their military advantage, the Iroquois began widespread adoption of firearms throughout the late1630's and 1640's, a move that brought them to seek out reliable trading contacts among the French, Dutch, English, and Swedes.[145]

The French supplied firearms to the Iroquois and the Huron as incentive for Christian conversion and to gain control of the fur trade.[146] To accomplish both goals simultaneously, the Jesuit missionaries of New France were not above presenting their newly minted converts with firearms immediately after baptism. As the writings of Father Le Jeune at Sillery and Three Rivers explains:

One of these, named Achilles, was very haughty before his baptism, but God has changed him into a little lamb… Another notable convert is a Huron, who has come down to Quebec with Brébeuf and Du Peron ; he is baptized at Sillery with great ceremony, .as Charles Sondatsaa. Montmagny, who acts as his sponsor, presents to him a handsome arquebus, and exhorts him to spread the faith among his countrymen; while the Sillery converts give him powder to use with his gun. He is very grateful, and avers that he will never give up the faith he has professed.[147]

Many Iroquois did not permit the Jesuit missionaries to come among them for fear that these "black robes" were witches who brought disease.[148] When the Iroquois permitted Jesuit missionaries in their communities, they usually treated them with respect, but refused Christian conversion on the basis that there was nothing wrong with they way they lived.[149] Though the Iroquois resisted the proselytizing of Jesuit missionaries, they wished to maintain a peaceful trading relationship with the French. The Iroquois promised that if "uncle Onontio, the great

[143] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005)
[144] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 61-64.
[145] Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), page 100.
[146] Ibid, page 100.
[147] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005)
[148] The term "black robe" referred to a Jesuit, see Ibid, pages 45, 50, 56
[149] Ibid, page 45.

captain of the French" gave them firearms, they would trade their peltries to no one else.[150] The French repeatedly refused to supply arms and munitions to Iroquois that did not embrace Christianity and demanded more peltries in return for their goods than the Swedes. By not reconciling with the Iroquois, the French drove them to seek firearms from other colonial powers who were eager to take control of the fur trade.

The documents from the Swedish colony on the Delaware indicate that colonists along with government officials freely sold firearms, powder, lead, and artillery pieces to the Seneca and the native peoples of the Esopus.[151] The colonial administrators of New Sweden never admitted their wrongdoing it in writing, but native accounts confirm that Governor Johan Printz cited "uneighborly conduct" by the Dutch as a pretense for trading firearms to Indians as they saw fit.[152] In a 1648 letter to Stuyvesant, Printz "vociferously" claimed that Govert Lockermaans was the most uneighborly of all and that his "contraband trade of guns, powder, and lead" threatened the safety and economic well-being of his colonists.[153] In answer to the accusations from New Sweden, the provincial secretary of New Netherland, Cornelius Van Tienhoven wrote in December of the same year that the Swedish trade in contraband had "ruined" the legitimate trade in peltries for the Dutch.[154]

The colonists of New England were also in fierce competition with the Dutch and French to control the fur trade and allowed the sale of firearms to Indians on a very limited scale. Towards the middle of the seventeenth century, the English colonies concluded that they could benefit politically and economically from trading firearms and munitions to "non-hostile Indians."[155] These "non-hostile Indians" were native peoples who had adopted English culture, trained with colonial militias, and allowed Protestant missionaries to Christianize them. Despite their

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[150] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005)

[151] Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), pages 13, 27-28. The Dutch referred to the Delaware tribes as the Indians of the Esopus, see Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1654-1658*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), page 231

[152] Ibid, 27-28. Apparently, the Swedish trade in firearms was enough to seriously inflate the value of peltries on the Delaware.. See Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), page 19 and also Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1655-1656*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), xvi

[153] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), page 26

[154] Ibid, page 19.

acceptance of English ways, the New England colonies habitually ceased arming their native allies during times of war with neighboring Indians.[156] Overall, the New England colonies had inconsistent policies regarding the sale of firearms and munitions to their native allies. Throughout the seventeenth-century, the legality of arming "non-hostile Indians" in New England fluctuated with the political climate, nonetheless contraband traders sold the materials of war to their native neighbors without regard for allegiance, political boundaries, or the law.

All of the English colonies enacted ordinances to stop contraband traders from arming potentially hostile Indians, but these legal measures were inconsistent and often failed.[157] While the governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony had Richard Hopkins severely whipped and branded for supplying Indians with "pieces, powder, and shot," Theophilus Eaton, governor of New Haven did not prosecute "Scot" merchant Willem Westerhuizen for committing the same offenses[158] Willem Westerhuizen and other "Scot" merchants plagued New Netherland by offering cheaper goods to both Indians and colonists. They were also in competition with the Dutch to sell arms and munitions to the Iroquois.

In 1648, Stuyvesant wrote Eaton in protest of Willem Westerhuizen, claiming that he sailed into New Netherland aboard the St. Beninjo to sell one-hundred guns and five-hundred pounds of powder to the Indians.[159] Although New Haven did not legalize the sale of firearms to Indians until 1669, Eaton failed to prosecute Westerhuizen. An infuriated Stuyvesant risked war with the English by sending Dutch ships to New Haven to capture Westerhuizen and the contraband arms aboard the St. Beninjo.[160] The "Scot" merchants posed a significant economic threat to New Netherland by arming the Iroquois and diverting trade from the Dutch. In the midst of competition between European powers, the Iroquois emerged to dictate the terms of colonial trade

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[155] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 48-51

[156] Ibid, pages 43-44, 48-51.

[157] For a discussion of New England's prohibitions on trading firearms and munitions to Native Americans see Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 38, 42-45

[158] Ibid, page 43. A "Scot" merchant usually referred to a petty trader that did not reside in New Netherland, but passed through only to sell merchandise, see Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series.(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 115.

[159] Ibid, page 57

[160] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 330-333, 343-348, 357, 373, 381, 393, 397, 404 and Charles T. Gehring., trans and ed. Correspondence, 1647-1653. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000.), pages xxviii, 13, 64, 112

Iroquois control of trading routes and access to peltries granted them significant leverage in dealing with their European neighbors. This leverage combined with their potential military might gave the Iroquois freedom to select the goods they desired most in trade for their peltries.[161] Though the Iroquois desired duffel, kettles, and steel hatchets, they prized firearms and munitions most and built positive relationships with colonists who armed them. If other colonial powers controlled trade with the Iroquois, the Dutch believed New Netherland would collapse into "a poor and ruinous condition."[162] While the New Netherland economy hinged on obtaining furs through peaceful exchange with the Iroquois, colonists feared physical reprisal from the Iroquois most.

Friendship with the Iroquois required constant maintenance and renewal and failure to abide by these rules invited reprisal and the Dutch did not wish another war with the Mohawk.[163] In 1625, the commander of Fort Orange, Daniel Van Krieckebeeck allied with their Mahican trading partners in a war against the Mohawk. Van Krieckebeeck led an expedition of six colonists against the Mohawk. Scarcely a league from Fort Orange, a Mohawk war party attacked Van Krieckebeeck and his men Van Krieckebeeck died in the initial ambush and the Mohawk captured three of his men who they transported back to their village for ritual execution. The remaining three men barely escaped with their lives. Fearing imminent retaliation, the Dutch temporarily abandoned Fort Orange and relocated New Netherland's colonial government to Manhattan where it remained until the end of the Dutch period in 1664.[164] New Netherland existed at the pleasure of the Iroquois and the memories of Van Krieckebeeck's failed expedition served to remind the Dutch of that fact.

The Dutch West India Company was fully aware of New Netherland's precarious relationship with the Iroquois. The Directors in Amsterdam and Director General Stuyvesant feared making the Iroquois into an even more dangerous potential threat by arming them and he lamented in 1648 that "the Christians are weakened and the barbarians strengthened"[165] Of even more

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[161] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 55-56, 76-79

[162] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages, 84-85

[163] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 48-49.

[164] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 84-85.

[165] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), page 535.

concern to the company was the danger of not selling firearms to the Iroquois. As the directors lamented in April 1648:

> Although we know, that these tribes have become conscious of their strength by using it and consequently, we believe, more anxious to provide themselves with muskets, powder, and lead, for which they ask under pretense of hunting and which we know only to be a mere pretense, yet we perceive them to be extremely eager, that we fear, they would begin a new war against, us, than be entirely deprived of these articles.[166]

To avoid potential hostilities, Stuyvesant and the directors in Amsterdam resolved to concede to the demand of the Iroquois for firearms and munitions by supplying them "very sparingly" and "as moderately and secretly as possible."[167] Although Stuyvesant and the directors indulged the Iroquois with the limited sale of firearms and munitions, the colonists who lived in close proximity to the Iroquois ultimately had to live with their native neighbors and the consequences of company decisions.

The director general on Manhattan and the directors in Amsterdam were far removed from the daily activity of Fort Orange and the town of Beverwijck while the colonists who resided there had to negotiate with the Iroquois daily. Iroquois men and women came to the homes of colonists to trade, eating and drinking with the Dutch and often spending the night as invited guests.[168] Mohawk and Seneca sachems frequented the courts of Rensselaerswijck, Beverwijck, and Fort Orange to make propositions to the Dutch and to enter complaints about the behavior of individual colonists. Dutch men from the community also engaged in sexual relationships with Iroquois women.[169]

The colonists of Fort Orange and Beverwijck regarded the company's resolve to sell the Iroquois arms as intrusive on their social order and economic domain. The mercantile elites who petitioned the Holland States General protested Stuyvesant and the company's policy of selling firearms and munitions to the Iroquois stating "the same person who interdicts the trade to others upon pain of death, carries it on both secretly and openly, and desires contrary to good rules that

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[166] Charles T. Gehring., trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 55

[167] Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1983), page 116

[168] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003.), page 164.

[169] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 454

his example not be followed."[170] These merchants firmly believed that the company's policy placed them at an unfair disadvantage. By only supplying the Iroquois with small quantities of firearms and munitions, the company could not compete with "Scot" merchants from New England who freely sold firearms and munitions to the Iroquois and paid twenty-five percent more for peltries than the Dutch.[171]

Company policy not only threatened to ruin the economy on the upper Hudson, it also threatened the lives and property of colonists. If the Iroquois judged that the Dutch had failed to reciprocate their friendship and decided to attack, the colonists near Fort Orange had the most to fear because of their proximity to the Five Nations. The colonists on the upper Hudson knew that the Iroquois could easily force them to flee their homes and property as they did in the aftermath of Van Krieckebeeck's expedition. The trading elite in Rensselaerswijck pleaded with company officials to give them the freedom to trade firearms and munitions to the Iroquois in limited quantities as well.[172] While Stuyvesant granted their request, community leaders on the Hudson feared that limited quantities of arms would not be enough to maintain the Dutch friendship with the Iroquois.

The community leaders on the upper Hudson felt they were better suited to negotiate with the Iroquois than the company. These men were artisans and merchants who became magistrates and church officials by virtue of their wealth which they had amassed from trading with the Iroquois.[173] The bulk of their wealth did not come from the sale of legal commodities such as duffel, kettles, or axes, but from illegally trading firearms and munitions to the Iroquois. These community leaders were boschlopers who negotiated the economic and physical survival of their settlement with the Iroquois daily, a task the company could not perform because of limited resources and manpower. The company directors also acknowledged in February 1650 that they could no longer attempt to control the exchange with the Iroquois because they could no longer "keep their store houses well provided with the right goods."[174] Despite the difficulty that the company experienced in supplying the Iroquois with armaments, the boschlopers used their trade

[170] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909.), page 345.
[171] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 44, 58.
[172] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 368-369.
[173] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442.

skills and resources to smuggle and build contraband firearms. In the hands of the boschlopers, contraband guns and munitions were their most important tools in securing the future of the community.

On the upper Hudson, trading contraband firearms to the Iroquois replaced traditional Dutch forms of earning a livelihood.[175] As mentioned in the previous chapter, the two occupations were absolutely vital for the contraband trade in firearms in New Netherland were the blacksmith, gunsmith, and gunstock maker trades.[176] Often residing on the same street and sections of town, smiths and gunstock makers were a firearms manufacturing operation onto themselves. A few smiths and gunstock makers such as Carsten Fredricksz and Jan Koster even had their workplaces near the woods for convenience in trading with the Iroquois.[177] Since there were more smiths and gunstock makers per square mile in New Netherland than in the Dutch Republic, competition within their own trade often became fierce and artisans could not always depend on projects from the Dutch West India Company or the Reformed Church for employment.[178]

With a smaller European consumer base than the Dutch Republic, blacksmiths, gunsmiths, bakers, shoemakers, gunstock makers, and tailors had to find new clientele. Traveling into the woods as boschlopers to meet the Iroquois demand for firearms and trade for peltries was a very lucrative option to poverty for these artisans. Blacksmiths, gunsmiths, carpenters, and gunstock makers easily adapted their skills to the manufacture of contraband firearms while those of other trades had to be more innovative in adapting to the New Netherland economy. Shoemakers, bakers, tailors, and sailors did not initially possess the technical capabilities necessary to produce guns, but became boschlopers and learned new skills.[179] Many more of these artisans continued to practice their primary occupation, but subsidized their incomes by becoming merchants and smugglers.

The most powerful and influential boschlopers of the Fort Orange community organized extensive organizations of artisans, brokers, merchants, and smugglers to satisfy the Iroquois demand for firearms. One such boschloper was gunstock maker Phillip Pietersz Schuyler who

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[174] Charles T. Gehring., trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 82-83.
[175] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 274, 315.
[176] Ibid, pages 275-281
[177] Ibid, page 279
[178] Ibid, page 275

arrived in Rensselaerswijck on the outskirts of Fort Orange in 1650. In December of 1650, Schuyler married into the Van Rensselaer clan, an act that gave him access to the family fortune.[180] Schuyler set up shop near other gunstock makers and blacksmiths in the community and performed the important task of fabricating gunstocks for gun barrels that smugglers brought to the colony in watertight casks. Subsidized by his marital wealth, Schuyler quickly became one of the dominant boschlopers of the Dutch contraband trading network.[181]

As a boschloper, Schuyler hired Dutch and Indian brokers to go into the woods and direct the Iroquois to his home. Court documents provide the best insight into Schuyler's active life of trading contraband firearms. In June 1659, an Indian appeared in court and testified that he had received a coat from Schuyler as payment for his services as a broker. The *schout,* Johannes La Montagne also verified that he had seen the Indian with the coat led five other Indians with beavers to Schuyler's house.[182] In July of 1660, La Montagne again accused Schuyler of sending his brokers into the woods, specifically his servant Jacob Lockermaans. Schuyler sarcastically replied that he had sent Lockermaans into the woods to "see what sort of Dutchmen were in the woods and what they did there. Not finding any he was to come back immediately."[183] The Fort Orange court did not convict Schuyler on either charge because he was a fellow magistrate and his trading activity was essential in maintaining the Dutch alliance with the Iroquois.

Like Schuyler, Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn was both a magistrate of the Fort Orange court and an active trader of contraband firearms on the upper Hudson.[184] While no documents list an artisnal occupation for Schermerhoorn, he successfully organized several tradesmen and farmers into a colonial smuggling ring. In 1648, Abraham Willemz, a carpenter, faced charges from the Court of New Amsterdam for his activities as a sailor in a case that completely exposed Schermerhoorn's smuggling ring operation.[185] The court charged that Willemz aided in the smuggling of firearms to the Mohawk with Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn, Joost Teunisz the Baker,

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[179] Ibid, page 274-275
[180] A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 841
[181] Ibid, pages 435-436, 445, 513
[182] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 435-436
[183] Ibid, 513
[184] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442.
[185] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 469, 531, 549

Lambert Clomp the gunstock maker, and Corporal Barent Reyndertsz the company smith.[186] During interrogation, Willemz confessed that he had sailed from New Haven with Willem Westerhuizen and the crew of the *St. Beninjo* to sell four kegs of powder and three kegs of shot to an associate of Schermerhoorn's named Egbert Van Borsum for eventual sale to the Mohawk.[187] Willemz's testimony not only named the key players of the New Netherland smuggling ring, it also gave company officials new leads to investigate which would reveal the full extent of Schermerhoorn's operation.

The company obtained its most damning evidence against Schermerhoorn in its interrogation of Jacob Reyntjes, Joost Teunisz the baker and Corporal Barent Reyndertsz, the company blacksmith. Reyntjes corroborated the testimony of Abraham Willemz by admitting that he bought seventy five pounds of gunpowder stashed away in "prune barrels" from Egbert Van Borsum. In addition, Reyntjes confessed to smuggling "ten staves of lead" aboard Jan Heyn's bark without the skipper's knowledge.[188] The company's further interrogation of Reyntjes pressed him to admit that he had purchased also "five or six" gun barrels from Reyndertsz and that he frequently "looked up and bought here and there old gun barrels" throughout the community.[189] When the *schout* La Montagne intercepted Reyntjes' letter to Schermerhoorn, imploring him to "hide the guns," the company discovered the leadership behind the organization.[190]

When company officials examined Joost Teunisz about his involvement in arming the Iroquois, Teunisz protested that he had purchased only one gun from Reyndertsz, but that the lock did not function properly. Teunisz stated that he returned the gun to Reyndertsz for repair, but complained that the smith had stolen his gun locks for the infamous boschloper, Govert Lockermaans. When company officials questioned Reyndertsz about the missing locks, they discovered that the good baker's involvement far exceeded the single gun he allegedly returned for repair.[191] Reyndertsz revealed that he had long been involved with Teunisz and Reyntjes in

[186] Ibid, pages 469, 531, 521-524, 530-535, 549
[187] Ibid, pages 469, 531, 521-524, 530-535, 549
[188] Ibid, pages 523, 530.
[189] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), page 523
[190] Ibid, page 523
[191] Ibid, pages 521-523

converting Dutch West India Company matchlocks into flintlock operated arms and that he had sold many of the "honorable company's guns, locks, and barrels" to both men.[192]

In addition to Reyndertsz, Schermerhoorn's operatives contracted with other smiths in the countryside to fabricate parts for their contraband firearms. In his testimony, Jacob Reyntjes confessed that he had acquired some snaphance locks from farmer Abraham Rycken who manufactured them While documents list Rycken as a farmer, a personal accounts cites he "made the barrel and tempered it" in reference to the conversion of a matchlock to a firelock.[193] A 1655 notation by company officials also stated that Rycken had no means available to him to make a living, "save with his hands."[194]

Schermerhoorn's employment of blacksmiths allowed him to produce firearms that met Iroquois specifications. When purchasing firearms, the Iroquois specifically wanted guns that complimented their ambush style of warfare and demanded that the Dutch address the important details of barrel length and firing mechanism.[195] The Iroquois did not prefer matchlock operated field muskets. These heavy guns with their barrels were ungainly in the North American Woodlands and the match produced a telltale glow that compromised the shooter's location. While the Iroquois might grudgingly accept a field musket, they wanted boschlopers like Schermerhoorn to bring them guns that would give the shooter mobility with inconspicuous firing mechanisms. The Iroquois preferred carbines with barrels between "three and three and a half feet long" and operated by a flintlock mechanism that used sparks instead of a glowing match to fire the gun.[196] Smuggling could no longer provide boschlopers like Schermerhoorn with enough materials to meet the growing demand of the Iroquois for specific types of guns To build these custom firearms, boschlopers like Schermerhoorn had to rely on smugglers to furnish their blacksmiths with gun locks and barrels. In the late 1640's, the boschlopers could no longer

[192] Ibid, pages 521, 532-535.
[193] Ibid, page 522 and Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), pages 71-72
[194] E.B. O'Callaghan and Bertold Fenrow, trans. *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*. Volume 14. (Albany: Weed Parsons and Company, 1856-1887), page 326
[195] Harold K. Peterson. *Arms and Armor in Colonial America, 1526-1783*. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1956), pages 14-15, 18-19, 26-28 and Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 33-36
[196] Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 62-63.

depend on smuggling alone to supply the materials they needed to meet the increased Iroquois demand for firearms and began stealing matchlocks from the company's armories.[197]

Nearly all guns in company armories throughout New Netherland were militia-issue, matchlock-operated field muskets.[198] Schermerhoorn knew that the Iroquois would not accept matchlocks, so he commissioned smiths Barent Reyndertsz and Abraham Rycken to convert the company's guns to Iroquois specifications by sawing off the barrels and adding flintlock mechanisms.[199] During the trail of Schermerhoorn and his conspirators the fiscal, Hendrick Van Dyk accused Reyndertsz, Teunisz, and Reyntjes of both "alienating and rendering the company's arms useless to them" and "the final selling to the Indians of said arms which have been thus sold and alienated."[200].

After the company disrupted Schermerhoorn's operation, boschlopers continued to look beyond smuggling for the materials they needed to build firearms. Though he never stood trial for selling contraband firearms, Cornelius Bogardus' signature on a 1660 petition calling for freedom to trade with the Indians in the woods reveals that he had an active interest in supplying the Iroquois with guns.[201] At his death in 1666, Bogardus left behind a substantial amount of firearms and associated paraphernalia. The boschlopers of the Fort Orange community attended Bogardus' probate auction and purchased the materials he left behind. Elias Van Revensteyn purchased three gun barrels and a lock, Jan H. Bruyn purchased two guns and two gun barrels, Phillip Pietersz Schuyler purchased four gun barrels, Robbert Sandersen purchased seven old pistol barrels and two gun locks, and Henderick Rosenboom purchased five gun locks.[202] One year later in 1667, the same group of men attended the probate auction of Harmen Jansen Bos attracted the same group of men. at his passing in 1667 Jacob Tijssen purchased a musket, two guns, and one pistol, Henderick Van Nes, two guns, and Henderick Rosenboom purchased two gun barrels and three gun locks.[203]

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[197] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 534-535.
[198] Harold K. Peterson. *Arms and Armor in Colonial America, 1526-1783*. (Harrisburg: The Stackpole Company, 1956), page 46.
[199] Charles T. Gehring, *Personal Communication*, April 1, 2005
[200] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 534-535.
[201] The 1660 petition to the Dutch West India Company called for the freedom to trade with Native Americans in the Woods, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 501-502
[202] Charles T. Gehring. *Fort Orange Records, 1656-1678*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 142
[203] Ibid, page 145

Probate auctions helped to solve need of the boschlopers for guns, barrels, and gun locks, but the arming of the Iroquois increased their demand for Dutch gunpowder and lead. While the Iroquois crafted their own musket balls, they did not have access to raw lead or the resources and equipment necessary for the production of gunpowder.[204] The Iroquois wanted the boschlopers to provide them with a continuous supply of powder and lead on the basis of the covenant they forged with the Dutch.[205] In the summer of 1654, boschlopers Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn, Peter Hartgers, Volkert Jansz decided to "renew their old alliance and friendship" with the Iroquois by presenting the Mohawk and Seneca with five pounds of gunpowder, plus another twenty-five pounds of powder from the company's armory.[206]

Five years later in September1659, another Mohawk envoy complained that even if their firearms were in good repair they did not have enough powder and lead to fight their enemies and asked the boschlopers to maintain their friendship by supplying them with the munitions they needed. To "enter into a further covenant with the same Maquaes, to thank them for their old and continued friendship"[207] Jerimias Van Rensselaer, Phillip Pietersz Schuyler, Volkert Jansz, and Jan Thomassen resolved to travel into Mohawk county to deliver seventy-five pounds of powder and one-hundred pounds of lead.[208] One year later in July 1660, a Seneca delegation traveled to Fort Orange to respectfully remind the Dutch that "a good soldier ought to have powder and lead for nothing." In response to their complaint, the boschlopers presented the Seneca with one keg of powder.[209]

The gift of munitions from the boschlopers partially satisfied the needs of the Iroquois, but their firearms also required regular maintenance. While some Native Americans in New England learned the blacksmith trade toward the end of the seventeenth century, no records indicate any smiths present among the Iroquois during the existence of New Netherland.[210] The Iroquois

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[204] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. New York: (Madison Books, 2000), pages 51, 71

[205] Historians tend to discuss the "Covenant Chain" in terms of the alliance between the English and the Iroquois however, I have found diplomatic exchanges where the Dutch, the Mohawk, and the Seneca state that they are "bound together by chains in friendship." For more information, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 134-142 and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 515-516

[206] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 146, 150

[207] Ibid, page 456

[208] Ibid, page 456

[209] Ibid, page 516

[210] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 72, 74-75.

could perform limited maintenance on their firearms such as straightening crooked barrels in the fork of a tree, chiseling new gunflints, and carving bullet molds out of rock, but they depended upon smiths and gunstock makers in the Fort Orange community for all major repairs.[211] When the magistrates detained an Indian laden with beaver pelts at Fort Orange, inquiring where he was headed the Indian replied "to see *de smits*."[212] The same 1659 Mohawk envoy to representatives of Fort Orange, requesting that the smiths and gunstock makers repair their firearms whether they had "much or little zeewant" also asked that the gunstock makers "finish their gunstocks at the first opportunity and not keep them waiting long."[213]

In addition to gunpowder, lead, and repairs Iroquois possession of firearms created the need for resources beyond materials of war. In 1657, a Mohawk sachem named Sasiadego requested that the Dutch supply them with horses to pull their cannon to the flats along the Mohawk River in order to defend their forts. Sasiadego also asked Schuyler and Thomassen to renew "the old friendship" between the Dutch and the Iroquois. In response, the boschlopers reminded Sasiadego that they were not to move the cannon without the consent of the Dutch and that if the Mohawk wanted horses, they would have to pay for them.[214] While the boschlopers refused to supply the Iroquois horses without payment, they were careful at the end of the meeting to affirm Sasiadego's request for continued friendship.

The boschlopers knew the existence of the community and their own economic prosperity depended upon the continued friendship of the Iroquois and were well acquainted with the principles behind Iroquois diplomatic exchange. The Iroquois need for more captive adoptees and their reliance on ambush tactics to overwhelm larger enemies increased the demand for firearms and munitions. Since the Iroquois rose to become the dominant political and military power in the Hudson river valley, they controlled trade routes and access to the beaver pelts that Europeans coveted.[215] The boschlopers were in competition with other colonial powers to befriend the Iroquois and beaver trade and losing would bring economic ruin and destruction to their settlements.

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[211] Ibid, pages 70-71 and Michael A. Bellesiles. *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*. New York: (Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), pages 44-45

[212] The aforesaid Indian was headed to the house of Jan Coster Van Acken, a blacksmith, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 499.

[213] Ibid, page 454

[214] Ibid, pages 304, 306

[215] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 55-56, 76-79

Where the Dutch West India Company failed, men like Schuyler, Schermerhoorn, and Van Rensselaer succeeded in forging an alliance of friendship and goodwill with the Iroquois that Charles T. Gehring notes "was never broken."[216] Whether they were artisans, farmers, or wealthy merchants, the boschlopers ' arming of the Iroquois reveals the importance of private citizens in negotiating continued peace on the upper Hudson. More importantly, the actions of the boschlopers reveals that the fate of the Fort Orange community rested in the hands of individual colonists and their daily activities that maintained the covenant between the Iroquois and the Dutch. The next chapter illustrates the importance of individual colonists in maintaining peace with the Iroquois and how alcohol allowed a broader base of men and women to participate in the trade. It also reveals how a small group of men attempted to monopolize the trade with the Iroquois through the colonial legal system and fear.

[216] Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and eds. *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den Bogaert*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), page xvii

CHAPTER 4

THE CONTRABAND TRADE IN ALCOHOL

During church services on Sunday the 12th of August 1657, a group of drunken Mohawk men "committed many acts of insolence" near Fort Orange. The next day, magistrates Phillip Pietersz Schuler and Jan Thomassen accompanied the schout, Johannes La Montagne and Hendrick Jochimsen, lieutenant of the burgher guard in questioning an Indian named Kanigerage about where the Mohawk had been purchasing alcohol. Kanigerage answered that if the Fort Orange officials gave him a beaver, he would show them the house where Indians were obtaining their brandy.[217] In an early colonial American "sting operation," the Fort Orange officials agreed whereupon Kanigerage went to the house of none other than Marten Hendericksz *Bierkaecker*, or "beer carrier."[218]

While officials waited in hiding outside the house, Kanigerage went into the *Bierkaecker* residence and emerged three-quarters of an hour later minus the beaver and carrying three pints of brandy and sugar in his kettle. After Kanigerage gave the officials the kettle, they proceeded into the *Bierkaecker* residence where they placed Marten and his wife Susanna under arrest.[219] During the next few days, the magistrates of Fort Orange interrogated Marten and Susanna Hendericksz about their involvement in the contraband trade in alcohol to the Mohawk. At first

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[217] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 323-324. .

[218] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), pages 48-49. Marten Hendericksz was also listed as de Brouwer, or the brewer until 1657, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page xxxiv and Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), page 446.

Susanna and Marten told conflicting stories, Hendericksz denying any involvement and Janssen answering that her husband had in fact sold alcohol to Indians in the past. During the later part of the interrogation, Susanna Janssen confessed to supplying Kanigerage with "three pints of beer, brandy, French wine, and Spanish wine mixed together" and on August 20th 1657, the Fort Orange Court found her guilty on all charges.[220] Along with her confession, Susanna Janssen pleaded that her husband Marten Hendericksz suffered from a hernia and was unable to work. Janssen pleaded that her husband and their three small children depended upon her to feed the family through the trade for peltries since the food vendors in New Netherland would not accept zeewant. Swayed by her extreme poverty, the Fort Orange court might have mitigated her sentence however, the recorder left her sentence blank.[221]

Ironically, Janssen's prosecutors, were boschlopers themselves and their prosecution of her reveals some of the most striking gender and social inequalities in New Netherland. Boschlopers Phillip Pietersz Schuyler and Jan Thomassen rose to positions of economic and social prominence in the Fort Orange community by trading with the Iroquois. These men used their wealth and social status to exclude the Dutch West India Company from trade and establish oligarchic control over the region.[222] While the boschlopers successfully expelled company influence, they also prevented women and the poor from trading with the Iroquois. Women and impoverished men often lacked the necessary capital and training to participate in the firearms trade turned to selling alcohol for survival.

New Netherland colonists were dependent on the Iroquois for food and peltries and lacked the skills and capital to participate in the firearms trade. To survive, many impoverished men and women became boschlopers by selling alcohol in the woods and from their homes to the Iroquois. As a result, these upstart boschlopers found that the ruling elite branded them as dangerous criminals for participating in the same contraband trading activity as they.

Native American and European cultures clashed around contraband trade in alcohol. Although we do not know much about Kanigerage, his actions in historical record reveal a man

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[219] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 324

[220] Ibid, pages 324-325, 328

[221] Ibid, page 328. Susanna Jansen no longer appears in the Fort Orange court documents or the Fort Orange records after these notations. Her husband, Marten Hendericksz appears one year later as the subject of a lawsuit however he too disappears from the records. One may assume that given their impoverished state they either fled to one of the English colonies as Susanna was born in New England or they went back to Europe, see Ibid, pages 324-325, 328, 412

that was willing to put his personal safety at risk with no compensation in order to stop the trade of alcohol to his people Until very recently, Kanigerage was the kind of man that historians glossed over or completely ignored in the documents. Kanigerage was representative of many Native American men and women who stood up against the contraband trade of alcohol in defense of their families and communities during the seventeenth century.[223] New Netherland colonists were far from immune to the effects of alcohol and intoxication and the Dutch had just as much to fear from their drunken friends and neighbors than they did from Indians.[224] While the contraband trade in alcohol created problems for colonists and American Indians alike and also became a tool for social subversion in New Netherland. Less affluent men and women regularly used the illegal sale of alcohol to the Iroquois and their neighbors as a means of survival and competition against wealthier interests in the colony, especially during the decline in the trade for peltries in the mid-1650's.[225] Many of these upstart boschlopers on the upper Hudson found themselves running headlong into a confrontation with the community's most affluent and powerful residents.[226]

These more affluent boschlopers fought to maintain their economic and social hegemony at any price and fought to preserve their perceived exclusive right to trade with the Iroquois and their neighbors through legal and extralegal means.[227] By controlling the alcohol trade, these powerful traders and merchants supplanted the Dutch West India Company's economic primacy and strove to keep women and poorer members of the community out of their newly conquered economic domain.[228] The contraband trade in alcohol did unite both wealthy and poor boschlopers in one aspect, both groups saw the Iroquois and their neighbors as the means for potential profit and unflinchingly traded strong drink to them in exchange for peltries. For the Iroquois and their Native American neighbors, alcohol became a high demand commodity during

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[222] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pages 18-19

[223] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 101-103, 110-123, 128-129

[224] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany During the Seventeenth Century.* (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), page 81

[225] Janny Venema has argued that decline in the trade for peltries in the late 1650's combined with the Esopus Wars against the so-called "River Indians," and an increase in the colony's population created times of financial desperation for many New Netherlanders, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 183

[226] Ibid, page 442

[227] Ibid, pages 238-239.

[228] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pages 18-19.

the seventeenth century, a cultural shift that would send shockwaves throughout colonial North America.[229]

Like other Native Americans in the seventeenth century, the Iroquois developed an interest in alcohol because of its adaptability to existing cultural patterns.[230] Alcohol served as a means to put those who drank it in contact with spirits and the supernatural and the Iroquois frequently used it during mourning rituals that observed the passing of an important community members.[231] Iroquois consumption of alcohol complimented "mourning war" raids that had deadly consequences for their enemies.[232] As a French missionary wrote of the Seneca, "It is somewhat common custom amongst them when they have enemies… to get drunk and afterwards go and break off their heads."[233] Though alcohol came to play an important role in the "mourning wars," the Iroquois often did not have large enough supplies in the seventeenth century for the entire war party. An Iroquois community typically had just enough alcohol for a few warriors while the remainder of the raiding party feigned intoxication along with the drinkers. Iroquois warriors sought real or feigned intoxication during warfare because it allowed them to blame their actions on the alcohol and escape reprisal from their enemies.[234]

Iroquois consumption of alcohol fit into pre-existing cultural patterns and not all of these reasons perpetuated violence.[235] The Iroquois frequently engaged in "brandy feasts" when they had enough alcohol. At these "brandy feasts" men sat around a fire, smoking and chatting while "expressing good thoughts and hospitality."[236] In these hospitality rituals, the Iroquois frequently used alcohol to promote peace and goodwill. While many more Iroquois desired alcohol towards the end of the seventeenth century for the perceived benefits it could bestow on the consumer, not all men and women of the Five Nations approved of this cultural shift.

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[229] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 42-43.
[230] Ibid, pages 63-64, 67-79
[231] Ibid, pages 14-16, 69, 75-78 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 86.
[232] Ibid, page 86. For more on the "mourning wars" of the Iroquois, please consult Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience*." The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 529-533
[233] Ibid, pages 529-533.
[234] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 14-16, 69, 75-78 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 86.
[235] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 16, 64.
[236] Ibid, page 86

In addition to Kanigerage, other Iroquois men and women were concerned with the side-effects that came with the consumption of alcohol, particularly internal violence. Iroquois women played a key role in controlling the behavior of men during drinking bouts.[237] Having just a few members of an Iroquois community intoxicated was enough to cause women to place weapons out of the reach of their men, hiding them to prevent acts of harmful violence.[238] Indian women also used alcohol to gain power in their communities while men were drinking by controlling the supply of alcohol, adding water to nearly depleted bottles to produce "more drink" which the men had to negotiate and trade for.[239]

Leaders in the Iroquois community also sought to curb and control drinking for security reasons. As early as 1659, an envoy of Mohawk sachems to Fort Orange pleaded with officials there to have the Dutch stop selling alcohol to their people because "we have to anticipate our enemies, the French; and if we drink ourselves drunk, we cannot fight."[240] In an Iroquois raiding party, every man was important and if a warrior was drunk, he could not rely on his senses and judgment to lead himself or others into battle.[241] The same Mohawk envoy also asked Fort Orange officials to prohibit sales of alcohol to their people and when they returned to their home they would "burn all their kegs," but requested some brandy to take back to their villages when they left, but "no more after this time."[242] This has been one of the most misinterpreted lines in regard to Native Americans and their experience with alcohol. Past historians have attributed it to the early development of alcoholism, referring to the sachems in the above passage as alcoholics simply wanting another drink and promising to quit afterwards.[243] Such an interpretation does not take into account the distributive economics of the Iroquois and the initial ways in which they used alcohol.

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[237] Ibid, pages 69-72
[238] Ibid, pages 67, 69-72, 89-90, 150
[239] Ibid, page 72
[240] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 453-454.
[241] Ibid, pages 453-454
[242] For more on the importance of warfare and martial prowess in Iroquois culture, please consult Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience*." The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 529-530.
[243] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 453 Dennis Sullivan cited this quotation as proof of developing alcoholism amongst Native Americans in the seventeenth century by referring to it as a "drunkard's promise," see Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), page 189

If the men in the Mohawk envoy were indeed sachems or leading men in their communities most likely they did not request additional brandy for their own consumption, but for the use of others in the community.[244] In seventeenth century Iroquoia, the most powerful men were typically the ones with the least possessions. The Iroquois measured power by one's ability to supply family, friends, and neighbors with material goods. The distributive economics of the Iroquois suggests the existence of a secondary alcohol trade amongst Native Americans. Historian Peter C. Mancall has argued that Native American groups including the Iroquois traded alcohol amongst themselves and to peoples in the interior of North America.[245] In October 1656, magistrates Phillip Pietersz Schuyler and Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn accused the Brazilian born boschloper Willem Hoffmeyer of rowing up the Hudson to have the Iroquois sell beer to other Native Americans for him. For his transgressions, the Fort Orange magistrates banished Hoffmeyer for three years with a five-hindered guilder fine.[246] The trade in alcohol remained controversial among both Native Americans and Europeans, but it also highlighted how dependent New Netherland colonists were on the Iroquois for survival.

New Netherland colonists routinely relied on the Iroquois for food, especially corn and wild game. New Netherland suffered from recurring shortages of livestock and the Dutch had to routinely import cattle from New England.[247] As for hunting, early seventeenth-century Europeans had little knowledge or experience killing wild animals unless they were from the ranks of the nobility. By mid-century, more Europeans began the practice of fowling with firearms, mainly for stationary birds such as ducks or partridges.[248] An October 1652 ordinance forbidding residents of New Amsterdam from shooting at partridges that flew within the town or the fort, confirms that the Dutch hunted birds for food.[249] Although fowling supplemented the diet of New Netherland colonists, it did not provide them with enough food to survive the long

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[244] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 18-23

[245] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 57-58.

[246] Ibid, page 60 and see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 253

[247] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1654-1658*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), pages 10,41 and Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing., 1981), pages 131, 236, 240

[248] Patrick M. Malone. *The Skulking Way of War: Technology and Tactics Among the New England Indians*. (New York: Madison Books, 2000), pages 52-54, 60

[249] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. Syracuse: (Syracuse University Press, 1991), page 32

winter months. The Dutch found that they had to trade with neighboring Native Americans to obtain the food they needed.

New Netherland colonists were often desperate for food and to obtain it they traded alcohol to the Iroquois. In August 1661, Director General Willem Beeckman at Fort Casimir personally solicited Director General Stuyvesant for brandy to trade to neighboring Native Americans for food because "it could be more easily obtained for liquor than for other goods."[250] As winter approached, Beeckman's situation became more desperate as the company garrison had almost consumed the remainder of the supplies. Beeckman again wrote Stuyvesant in September 1661 pleading for alcohol: to trade:

> I reported to you the needs of the garrison here in my last letter. Our peas and bread-grain are depleted; I only have enough bacon and meat until about November. There are, praise God, enough provisions here if only we had some Osnaburg linen, distilled spirits or brandy, and duffels to buy them with.[251]

For colonists and company employees alike, trading alcohol to Native Americans was a necessity for survival. The illegal sale of alcohol to the Iroquois and their neighbors allowed a wider base of colonists to become boschlopers than the trade in contraband firearms.[252] As a result, men and an astonishing number of women from various, both rich and poor reaped the economic and cultural benefits from interaction with American Indians whether it was to increase their financial position or simply feed their families.[253] Unlike the production of contraband firearms, the manufacture of alcohol did not demand a high-level of technical expertise or specialization in a trade.[254]

Colonists who wished to produce alcohol could often gain their ingredients from New World sources including sugar and molasses from Curacao, Bonaire, or Aruba and grain from New Netherland proper.[255] For example, in 1659 the ship *De Nieuwer Amstel* from Curacao carried

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[250] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), page 236.
[251] Ibid, page 240
[252] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 44, 46.
[253] Janny Venema has written extensively on the involvement of women in trade and their centrality to colonial economic activity in New Netherland, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 186-191
[254] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 42-43. and Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 275-279.
[255] Gehring, Charles T., and J. A. Schiltkamp, trans. and eds. *Curacao Papers, 1640-1665*. New Netherland Documents. (Interlaken: Heart of the Lakes Publishing, 1987), page 138 and Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 50-52

ten barrels or three thousand six hundred and sixty eight pounds of sugar, one chest or three hundred and fifty pounds of sugar, one cask of sugar, seven barrels or one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine pounds of sugar, two small chests of sugar, one barrel of sugar, two barrels of molasses, and one small barrel of sugar to traders in New Netherland.[256] With these ingredients, any colonist like Hoffmeyer who wished to let "grain rot in tubs" could produce alcoholic beverages for trade and consumption.[257] Procuring alcohol in New Netherland was even easier as there were a wide array of brewers and tavern keepers in the colony.[258] Upstart boschlopers entering the contraband trades could more easily afford to produce or purchase alcoholic beverages than they could a gun. A half *anker* of brandy which was about 5.064 gallons cost around thirty guilders. A firearm could bring as much as ten and a half guilders to twenty eight guilders for a musket and two old guns actually brought forty-one guilders at a probate auction. If a trader watered down a half-*anker* of brandy, they could have a whole *anker* or 10.128 gallons or more of brandy, producing several bottles for trading purposes.[259]

Not all boschlopers chose to exchange their alcohol for food and instead traded for peltries that they could use for buying company provisions or for subsidizing their incomes. In 1658, the magistrates prosecuted Jan Teunissen, Jan Andreriessen, Pieter Jacobsen Bosboom, and Poulus Jansen in four separate trials, charging them individually with distributing brandy to the Iroquois and Mahicans in the vicinity of Fort Orange.[260] As punishment, the magistrates sought to impose sentences that crippled not only their finances, but their livelihood as well. The Fort Orange magistrates imposed a five-hundred guilder fine on Jan Teunissen, Jan Andreriessen, and Pieter Jacobsen Bosboom and sentenced all the defendants to three years banishment. Adding insult to injury, the magistrates also forced the men to pay the costs of the trial.[261] For Poulus Jansen the

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[256] Ibid, pages 50-52

[257] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 117.

[258] There were a combined total of fifty brewers and tavern keepers in the Fort Orange/Beverwijck area alone from 1652-1664, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 443-447.

[259] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages xxxiii, 58, Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Fort Orange Records, 1656-1678*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 135, 145, A.J.F. Van Laer and Jonathan Pearson. trans and eds. *Early Records of the City and County of Albany and Colony of Rensselaerswyck*: Volume 4. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Company, 2002), page 80, and Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 43.

[260] For the details of these court cases, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 345-347, 349-351, 357-358, 386-389, 394, 511.

magistrates reserved a much harsher sentence. In July of 1658, the Fort Orange magistrates sentenced Poulis Jansen to six years banishment plus the five-hundred guilder fine and court costs.[262]

Jan Teunissen, Jan Andreriessen, Pieter Jacobsen Bosboom, and Poulis Jansen were men with no recorded occupation or legitimate income.[263] Pieter Jacobsen Bosboom had temporarily baked bricks for Johan De Hulter in 1657. Bosboom also lived the lifestyle of a vagrant and used the Fort Orange guardhouse for his lodging.[264] As for Poulis Jansen , he was the "boy" or indentured servant of Adriaen Van Der Donck, schout of Rensselaerswijck.[265] The documents do not reveal any occupations for Jan Teunissen or Jan Andreriessen, but they do confirm that Teunissen rented a house from magistrate Pieter Hartgers, for which he failed repeatedly to pay the rent.[266] While the trade in alcohol allowed non-elites to trade with the Iroquois, it also brought further economic repression and banishment, especially for women.

. Out of the twenty-six tavern keepers in the vicinity of Fort Orange and Beverwijck from 1652 to 1664 seven women were either owners or part owners of alcohol serving establishments.[267] The Fort Orange Court charged four of the women with selling alcohol and aside from the vile concoction that Susanna Janssen prepared, Egbertje Egberts, Maria Janssen, alias *Lange* Maria, alias Maria Goosens, and Dirckje Harmens provided their customers with brandy.[268] For their transgressions, all four women received fines and the sentence of banishment and arbitrary corporal punishment. The Fort Orange Court commuted the sentences of all four women from banishment to a lower fine.[269] Maria Janssen, alias *Lange* Maria, alias Maria Goosens was the only one out of the four women that the Fort Orange Court enforced the

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[261] Ibid, pages 350, 357-358.
[262] Ibid, pages 388-389
[263] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 90, 456 and A.J.F. Van Laer. ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 826
[264] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 299 and Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 90
[265] A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), pages 824, 827
[266] Ibid, page 826 and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 376-377
[267] Ibid, page 447
[268] Ibid, pages 303-305.313-314, 316. Egbertje Egberts exchanged brandy for a tapoesjens, a pouch manufactured by Indians that was made of "deer skin and highly decorated" and "coveted by European settlers, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 154, 156, 176, 194, 252, 254, 324, 328, 337, 339-340 , 357
[269] Ibid, pages 166, 194, 252, 254, 337, 339-340

sentence of banishment, but only after Maria's second offense of selling brandy to Indians.[270] Though never accused of selling alcohol to Indians, a fifth female tavern keeper named Baefje Pieters faced charges in the Fort Orange court for obstruction of justice and preventing the commissary Johan de Deckere from performing his duties. The magistrates fined Baefje Pieters fifty guilders and even more significantly they barred her from trading for six weeks.[271]

Not all women who traded alcohol to Native Americans were tavern keepers and were simply the wives of farmers and farmhands. In September of 1655, the Fort Orange magistrates accused Jannitge Jansz, wife of farmhand Adrian Dircksz De Malle Vries of illegally selling brandy to Native Americans.[272] The magistrates found Jansz guilty on all counts and as punishment exposed her publicly on the scaffold to public scorn with the whipping rod suspended above her head. The magistrates also declared Jansz's property to be forfeit and declared that she was "banished from this country forever."[273] At the Dutch settlement on the Delaware, Louwerens Pieters testified that in January 1657 he found Indians drinking beer from Boertien's at his home. Louwerens asked Boertien's wife if she intended to sell more beer to the Indians at his house and she replies "yes, but they shall not drink it at your house, they shall go further."[274] To his chagrin, Louwerens returned to his home to find the Indians still there with another pail of beer and by this time they had become "intoxicated and insolent."[275]

In all the Fort Orange cases with the exception of *Lange* Maria and Jannitge Jansz, the magistrates mitigated the sentences of women from banishment to physical punishment, property confiscation, and fines.[276] Company officials on the Delaware chose not to prosecute Boertien's wife at all. On the other hand, men who were not a part of the social elite on the upper Hudson rarely enjoyed such leniency for becoming boschlopers and trading alcohol. In comparison, both non-elite males and females that decided to become boschlopers through the trade in alcohol experienced economic hardship through fines and property confiscation.

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[270] Ibid, pages 154, 166, 194
[271] Ibid, pages 229, 332-333
[272] *De Malle Vries* literally means 'the crazy Frisian," Venema's translation, see Ibid, pages 344-345, 457 and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 210
[273] Ibid, page 210
[274] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), pages 76-77.
[275] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 154, 166, 194
[276] Ibid, pages 252, 254, 328,

The Fort Orange magistrates did not limit prosecution only to impoverished men and women, but also targeted boschlopers with moderate wealth and social standing. In July of 1653, the Fort Orange magistrates accused Jacob Symonz Clomp, the *malle boer,* and a trader of substantial financial means of selling brandy to Indians.[277] The magistrates stated that Clomp had passed brandy by the kettleful to the Indians of the Esopus over the side of his bark on diverse occasions. For his crimes, the magistrates fined Clomp two-hundred and fifty guilders, but given the fact that he was wealth enough to own a yacht and a sloop, the fine was most likely a minor setback to his operation.[278]

Though not as wealthy as Jacob Symonz Clomp, Hans De Vosch had better social connections when the Fort Orange Magistrates prosecuted him in 1657 for illegally trading alcohol to the Iroquois.[279] Hans De Vosch had once served as court messenger for the colony of Rensselaerswijck and as deputy *schout* of Fort Orange during the time of his arrest.[280] The *schout* Johannes La Montagne arrested Vosch and his accomplice Poulis Jansen for distributing brandy to the Mohawk by means of slipping a cask of brandy through a loophole in Fort Orange and transporting it to a longhouse an island across the river.[281] Several credible witnesses such as Gijsbert Teunissen, Femmitjen Albertson, and Vosch's own wife Geertien came forward to confirm that Vosch had in fact sold wine, anise water, and brandy to Indians on diverse occasions from his canoe and house.[282] In addition to multiple sales of various alcoholic beverages to Indians and his later escape from jail, Vosch also threatened to kill anyone who informed on him by tying "a rope around his neck and throw[ing] him into the kill."[283]

Despite his long list of criminal offenses, the Fort Orange magistrates fined Hans De Vosch five-hundred guilders and banished him from the colony for three years.[284] Although Hans De Vosch was the centerpiece of the conspiracy trial, his accomplice Poulis Jansen received the harsher sentence by far.[285] The magistrates convicted Poulis Jansen on the singular incident involving the cask of brandy at Fort Orange, yet Hans De Vosch was clearly the more criminally

[277] Malle boer means "crazy farmer," see Ibid, pages xxxix, 57-59
[278] Ibid, page 62
[279] Ibid, pages 292-293, 387-388
[280] A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 829. and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 43, 355, 357.
[281] For the details on this incident, please refer to Ibid, page 387.
[282] Ibid, pages 286-287, 292, 387-388.
[283] A kill is a stream or creek, see Ibid, pages xxxix 286, 395
[284] For the punishment of Hans De Vosch, see Ibid, page 293
[285] Ibid, pages 388-399

minded of the two men. Even though Jansen's crimes were minor in comparison to those of Hans De Vosch, Jansen had no connection to the ruling social elite of the upper Hudson while Hans De Vosch was clearly the beneficiary of patronage as evidenced by his office-holding.[286] The patronage that Hans De Vosch enjoyed shielded him from the full measure of New Netherland justice, he did not enjoy the right combination of powerful connections and wealth to escape punishment entirely.

Both Clomp and De Vosch were boschlopers who traded alcohol and both men enjoyed moderate advantages in resources and connections within the Fort Orange community. These advantages did not preclude the magistrates from prosecuting them and like poor men and women they faced punishment for trading alcohol to the Iroquois. An elite group of men dominated the upper Hudson and they were determined to make trade with the Iroquois their privilege alone.

When Cornelius Teunissen Bosch, a shoemaker, turned boschloper defamed the magistrates in 1659, calling them a "lot of perjurers," professing that unless they arrested Phillip Pietersz Schuyler and Pieter Hartgers first, he would "wipe his ass" on the ordinance prohibiting brokering in the woods and venture out there anyway to conduct his business, his statements sounded like the ravings of a disgruntled old man.[287] Yet, the ravings of Cornelius Teunissen Bosch had opened a festering old wound in regard to the confidence that residents of Fort Orange and Beverwijck had in their public officials. Although a shoemaker, Cornelius Teunissen Bosch was a man of credibility as he had served as a magistrate of the Fort Orange Court until 1653.[288] Cornelius Teunissen Bosch's comments were true as Pieter Hartgers and Phillip Pietersz Schuyler were boschlopers who had escaped prosecution for trading contraband to Indians in the woods during the preceding year.[289] Unfortunately for Cornelius Teunissen Bosch, his comments had ran afoul of the new status quo in the Fort Orange community and for his impudence, the

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[286] A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 829 and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 355, 357.

[287] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990),.page 444

[288] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the AmericanFrontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442.

[289] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 144, 323, 435-437, 445, 500-502, 513 and A.J.F. Van Laer, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 523-524, 532-534, 546-549

magistrates sentenced him to twelve years of banishment and a twelve-hundred guilder fine plus court costs.[290]

Bosch revealed the hypocrisy of the magistrates and the interest they had in trading alcohol to the Iroquois. The wealthiest and most prominent families on the upper Hudson invested in the production of strong drink such as the *Herr* Jerimias Van Rensselaer, heir to the Van Rensselaer family fortune and Pieter Hartgers..[291] Both men owned breweries near Fort Orange, supplying tavern keepers in the community with alcohol and most likely selling strong drink to the Iroquois as well. Although company officials never directly accused Van Rensselaer of directly trading alcohol to the Iroquois, he did sell "Cousin Phillip" Schuyler "nine *aams* or 364.6 gallons of brandy" in 1661 and in 1663 "two casks and three hogsheads or 668.1 gallons of brandy."[292] Although court documents never directly accused Schuyler or Hartgers of trading alcohol, they faced numerous charges for trading with the Iroquois as boschlopers.[293]

While the Fort Orange court minutes list the charges against Schuyler and Hartgers, they mysteriously fall silent in describing the contraband items that both men and their brokers traded to the Iroquois. Although the documents are silent on these two men, they do reveal the activities of their peers and relatives In 1654, the schout Johannes La Montagne brought charges against Gerrit Van Slictenhorst for selling alcohol to a Mahican colonists referred to as the "Pimp." Jochem de Becker testified that he witnessed Kleyn and Van Slictenhorst fill a glass of brandy for the "Pimp" who drank it in their house. Jochem de Becker stated that the "Pimp" emerged drunk from the house and walked over to the residence of Van Slictenhorst's neighbor, Jan Van

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[290] Ibid, pages 465-466

[291] Referring to someone as the *Herr* literally translates into "the gentleman" or "the lord" and was used by the Dutch in the seventeenth century to denote esteemed social standing, Gehring's translation, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page xxxviii. Jerimias Van Rensselaer was the son of Jan Baptiste Van Rensselaer, son of Killien Van Rensselaer who was the proprietor (patroon) of Rensselaerswijck. Incidentally, Killen Van Rensselaer was a diamond merchant and one of the wealthiest men in the Dutch Republic. When Killen passed away in 1643 after never having stepped foot on New Netherland , his son Jan Baptiste assumed responsibility for the Van Rensselaer's holdings in North America. When Jean Baptiste's cousin Brant Van Slictenhorst the Director General of Rensselaerswijck lost his power struggle and his job in a confrontation with the West India Company's Director General of the colony, Petrus Stuyvesant. Jan Baptiste assumed Van Slictenhorst's duties over what was left of the family's holdings after the company absorbed Rensselaerswijck in 1651. When Jan Baptiste went to Holland in 1657, he left matters in the charge of his younger brother Jerimias until he returned in 1658. The Van Rensselaers would become one of the most wealthy and powerful families in North America during the colonial and early republic periods, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 17-18, 200-206,

[292] Ibid, page 255.

[293] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 144, 323, 435-437, 445, 500-502, 513 and A.J.F. Van Laer,

Hoesem. According to de Becker, "Pimp" picked up a mallet and beat Van Hoesem's door down whereupon he :"molested him and his family… and committed many other outrages."[294]

Van Slictenhorst was a cousin of the Van Rensselaer family and also Schuyler's brother-in-law.[295] Van Slictenhorst's actions reveal that the friends and relatives of the Van Rensselaer family were active boschlopers who traded alcohol to their Native American neighbors. Not only were Schuyler, Hartgers, and Van Slictenhorst active alcohol traders, they also occupied magistrate seats on the Fort Orange court.[296] This allowed the elite boschlopers to control sentencing, prosecution, and law enforcement on the upper Hudson in addition to controlling information that went into the court documents. Schuyler, Van Slictenhorst, and Hartgers never faced full prosecution under the company's laws because these magistrates were part of the Van Rensselaer extended family and they tried each other's cases. In addition, these men occupied prominent positions in the Dutch Reformed Church. Both Phillip Pietersz Schuyler and Gerrit Van Slictenhorst were deacons and members of the consistory. Pieter Hartgers and Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn were members of the consistory. Jan Thomassen and Cornelius Teunissen Bosch were both deacons.[297] The members of the consistory scrutinized the behavior of church members. And had the power to admonish, deny communion, and expel members from the congregation.[298] By holding these positions, these men established spiritual and temporal control over trade and the Dutch colonists of the upper Hudson.

In maintaining hegemonic rule over non-elite men and women, the boschloper elite manipulated the same laws they routinely broke to prevent competitors from the trading alcohol to the Iroquois. They appealed to the public that they were meting out justice for the common good and that the illegal sale of alcohol to Indians was "a matter of dangerous consequence

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trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 523-524, 532-534, 546-549

[294] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 141, 144.

[295] Regarding the connections of Gerrit Van Slictenhorst and Phillip Pietersz Schuyler, the Van Slictenhorsts were relatives of the Van Rensselaers. By marrying Margaretha Van Slictenhorst, Gerrit's sister, Phillip Pietersz Schuyler became a part of the Van Rensselaer clan, giving him access not only to powerful political connections, but to a small fortune as well thanks to his wife's inheritance. For more on the kinship ties between the Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, and the Van Slictenhorsts, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 189, 191, 254, 258 and A.J.F. Van Laer, ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts.* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), pages 43-44

[296] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442

[297] Ibid, page 442

[298] Ibid, pages 144-145.

which cannot be tolerated in a place where justice is maintained."[299] In this appeal to justice and community welfare, the boschloper elite combined the legal system with the fear of drunken Indians.

Even without alcohol, the Dutch greatly feared their Iroquois neighbors. Minister Johannes Megapolensis of the Dutch Reformed Church wrote a very unflattering account of the Mohawks in 1644, commenting on their lack of standardized language, laws, and their "heathen" religion. The Jesuit Fathers of New France were even more critical of the Iroquois and their culture such as Rene Goupil who referred to them as "dogs," Father Bressani who stated that they were "blinded by the Demon," and Father Francois-Joseph le Mercier who described Iroquois villagers as "insane" after consuming some alcohol.[300] Europeans in both North America and Latin America feared Native American drinking for generally the same reasons. They believed that alcohol "dissolved the superego and broke down the restraints that gave order to society."[301] The Englishman James Boswell theorized that Europeans could draw on "longstanding traditions" in drinking and therefore could control their level of intoxication. Like other Native American groups in North America and Latin America, the Iroquois believed that to gain the full benefits of alcohol, they had to become intoxicated.[302] As one Iroquois put it when preparing to drink "I am going to lose my head; I am going to drink of the water that takes away one's wits."[303]

Europeans theorized that Native Americans lacked the traditions and social restrictions necessary for the consumption of alcohol and when they drank it "spawned a culture of violence."[304] While Native American methods of alcohol consumption shocked and horrified colonists and European observers alike, the Dutch were even more frightened of the potential violence that could result from Iroquois drinking. To combat Iroquois drinking and the trade in

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[299] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 350

[300] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 172-180 and Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), pages 36, 54, 159-160

[301] William B. Taylor. *Drinking, Homicide, and Rebellion in Colonial Mexican Villages*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1979), page 43

[302] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 16

[303] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 86.

[304] Peter C Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America.* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 86

alcohol, Stuyvesant and company officials enacted an extensive series of ordinances prohibiting the sale of strong drink to Native Americans.

As opposed to the contraband trade in firearms, the colonial ordinances against the contraband

trade in alcohol became incrementally tougher with harsher penalties at each renewal.[305] Because of his stringent Calvinist beliefs and high moral standards Director General Stuyvesant was more energetic than his predecessors in policing immoral behavior associated with overindulgence in alcohol. Stuyvesant established ordinances in defense of the Sabbath, prohibiting the consumption of alcohol during divine services. Stuyvesant also prohibited drinking after the ringing of the evening bell which he lowered from ten o'clock to nine o'clock.[306] In tandem with his limitations on the consumption of alcohol. In addition, he placed a successive series of taxes and excises on the transportation and sale of alcohol. Regarding the sale of alcoholic beverages to Indians, Stuyvesant put his most earnest efforts into curbing the activities of New Netherland's boschlopers. In a 1648 Ordinance prohibiting the sale of alcohol to Indians, Stuyvesant commented that "people who live in remote areas suffer great insolence from drunken Indians, from which, as before, new misfortunes and wars are to be feared."[307] In all future ordinances of this nature, Stuyvesant appealed to the theme of community welfare, adding harsher punishments and heftier fines with each renewal. Stuyvesant also later allowed the legal testimony of Native Americans in prosecuting those involved in trading alcohol and also ordered that officials imprison any intoxicated Indians until they revealed where they obtained their strong drink from.[308] While the boschlopers used the harsh company ordinances prohibiting the contraband trade in alcohol to their advantage, they also used fear to eliminate their competitors.

The boschloper magistrates cited the danger that drunken Indians presented to life and property and appealed to religious beliefs. They warned colonists that God Almighty would punish the colony through famine, pestilence, or war if anyone dared to sell alcohol to Indians.[309]

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[305] For a these ordinances, see Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 3-6, 9, 12, 15-19, 21, 23, 33, 37, 47-49, 52, 60, 71-72, 74, 78, 83

[306] Ibid, pages 3-6, 9, 12, 15-19, 21, 23, 33, 37, 47-49, 52, 60, 71-72, 74, 78, 83

[307] Ibid, pages 18-19

[308] Ibid, pages 3-6, 9, 12, 15-19, 21, 23, 33, 37, 47-49, 52, 60, 71-72, 74, 78, 83

[309] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 350 and Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial*

While the threat of war and violence resulting from Iroquois consumption of alcohol figured prominently into the imagination of the Dutch, dangers resulting from drunken Indians were more unfounded than they seemed.[310]

Episodes of violence against New Netherland colonists seemingly rooted in Native American drunkenness often had their roots in points of contention. When the Fort Orange magistrates interrogated Marcelis Jansz whether brandy sold to the Indians of the Esopus there by Christoffel Davits had caused attacks on colonists, his reply was "yes especially because the horses of Thomas Clabbort had been in the corn."[311] New Netherland colonists had an annoying habit of letting their livestock forage in the woods and countryside, "damaging the corn of the Indians."[312] It is of no coincidence that Dutch envoys repeatedly asked the Iroquois to stop killing their livestock in order to maintain peaceful relationships with their allies, yet the existence of these incidents suggest that New Netherlanders continued to allow their cows, hogs, and goats to forage in the corn of the Indians.[313] The killing of livestock by Indians had the potential to spiral out of control into multiple episodes of violence as New Netherlanders and Indians sought redress for ruined crops, slaughtered animals, and even slain kindred.[314] Other conflicts between Indians and New Netherlanders stemmed from the failure of colonists to pay for land that they had purchased from Indians. The documents suggest that arson and even murders resulted from land deals gone sour.[315]

Land and livestock were not the only two factors in violence between New Netherland colonists and their Native American neighbors. Cheating the Iroquois produced a plethora of consequences for New Netherlanders. When Jan Andreriessen and Pieter Jacobsen Boschboom attempted to shortchange a Mohawk customer on brandy, they got more than they bargained for.

New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997), page 46

[310] Ibid, pages 16, 26, 63-64.

[311] Ibid, pages 90-91

[312] A.J.F Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore:
Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 74-75, and Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*.New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), pages 194-195.

[313] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 458, 518.

[314] A.J.F Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore:
Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 74-75.

[315] Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), pages 92, 97.

The Mohawk bested both men in a fight and emerged victorious with a keg of brandy.[316] Not only did Jan Andreriessen and Pieter Jacobsen Boschboom receive a sound thrashing, the Fort Orange Court later prosecuted the two men for their misdeeds.[317] In January of 1660, a group of intoxicated Dutch soldiers out of Fort Casimir on the Schuylkill set fire to a canoe belonging to some Indians. The Indians threatened the Dutch settlement with retaliation, either by setting fire to some houses or killing livestock.[318] In both instances, a New Netherland colonist cheated or destroyed the property of an Indian, actions that precipitated threats and violence. When Indians attacked New Netherlanders in episodes of violence seemingly fueled by alcohol, the conflicts usually had more immediate and deeply rooted causes.[319] New Netherlanders may have feared the rampages of drunken Indians, associating misfortune with native consumption of alcohol, but they failed to realize that their own misdeeds and mistreatment of their Native American neighbors was the cause.

The reverence of the Prince of Peace as opposed to the Peacemaker did not protect seventeenth-century Christian colonists from the ill-effects of alcohol.[320] Adriaen Van Der Donck unwittingly communicated in his 1653 *Description of New Netherland* just how righteous Native Americans thought New Netherlanders were:

> We do not know that God or where he is and have never seen him; if you know and fear him as you say you do, how come there are so many whores, thieves, drunkards, and other evildoers among you; surely that God of yours would punish you severely, since he warned you of it.[321]

This quote reveals that colonists were not the only observers in North America and that Native Americans intensely scrutinized the behavior of New Netherlanders. The Iroquois often witnessed firsthand the misbehavior of drunken Dutchmen who had beat and stole from them in the past. The Iroquois speaker in this instance was tired of Christian hypocrisy and warnings

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[316] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 357-358.
[317] Ibid, pages 345-347, 350-351
[318] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), pages 184-185.
[319] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 14, 26-27, 63-64
[320] I am using a comparison that historian Daniel K. Richter used. The reference "Prince of Peace" refers to Christ and the "Peacemaker" refers to Hiawatha and the Deganawidah Epic. For more information on the Deganawidah Epic, Hiawatha, and its importance in preventing bloodshed in Iroquois culture, please reference Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages xi, 31-32 and Anthony F.C. Wallace. *The Death and Rebirth of the Seneca*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970), pages 42, 44, 97-98.
[321] Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), page 126

about the dangers of alcohol, turning the moral logic back onto the Dutch. Neither New Netherland colonists or the Iroquois were safe from its negative effects on people and the community regardless of culture and religious beliefs.[322]

When Killian Van Rensselaer wrote to Director General Willem Kieft in 1642 asking "Can it be that Fort Orange is a wine cellar to debauch my people?" the old patroon would have been shocked to learn the full measure of the truth.[323] Historian Daniel K. Richter has argued that "there is no direct evidence, but it seems likely that those being debauched were, not Van Rensselaers' tenants, but the Iroquois and Mahican trading partners of Corlaer."[324] While boschlopers in the vicinity of Fort Orange played a key role in supplying alcohol to the Iroquois and Mahicans, Van Rensselaer wrote in response to the debts that colonists of Rensselaerswijck had accrued from wine consumption. Documentary evidence indicates that boschlopers in vicinity of Fort Orange rarely supplied Indians with wine, except for the concoction that Susanna Janssen put together for Kanigerage. Most wine that New Netherlanders consumed was either French, Spanish, or Rheinish and thus colonists relied on merchants to import it. New Netherlanders were more likely to use such a hard to come by and expensive commodity for personal consumption while trading cheaper beer and brandy to the Iroquois.[325] Van Rensselaers records reveal that the colonists of Rensselaerswijck spent much of their income on wine which testifies to excessive consumption of alcohol.[326] If the Dutch theorized that violence from the Iroquois stemmed from their inability to control their drinking, New Netherlanders would have been shocked to learn of their own dangerous behavior while drunk.

In New Netherland more than one drunken colonist with a "knife in their hat" damaged person and property at an alarming rate, even murdering one another in an inhuman rage fueled by alcohol.[327] From 1638 to 1660, there were around 163 cases of violence in New Netherland

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[322] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), page 16.
[323] A.J.F Van Laer. ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 622
[324] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 94.
[325] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 75, 91, 122-123, 141,144, 253-255,324, 328, 345-347-350, 386, 388-389, 418, 511
[326] A.J.F Van Laer. ed. *The Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts*. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), page 622
[327] Saying that someone has a "knife in their hat" is the seventeenth century Dutch equivalent of saying that someone has a "chip on their shoulder" today. The reference referred to the type of hat Dutchmen wore in the seventeenth century which had a slit near the brim that men often hid knives in, see Ibid, page 159.

that pitted colonists against colonists. Out of these 163 episodes, twenty-one indisputably involved alcohol-related incidents, a higher number than the sixteen incidents involving violence between Indians and colonists. [328]

The culture of violence in New Netherland revolved around the protection of "personal honor and bodily virtue."[329] The seventeenth century Dutch legal scholar Simon Van Leeuwen wrote that "Next to life nothing is more precious than one's honor or the good opinion which others have of us."[330] Dennis Sullivan has written extensively that in seventeenth century Dutch society, having one's name sullied could affect a myriad of social relations, including potential marriages, business, and even community standing. According to Criminologist Dennis Sullivan, homicide was on the rise in the seventeenth century Dutch Republic as men and women were more obsessive than any time in history about their reputations.[331] In defense of personal or

[328] For the sake of brevity and a more coherent analysis, I have not tabulated any episodes of violence that can be construed as military or paramilitary action. I have added only those altercations that were "personal" or outside the boundaries of the law and sanctioned state or tribal action. I must stress that my tabulations only take into account cases of violence reflected in the documents. Obviously if an incident went unreported or untried, it would not appear in any documentation, thus making an absolute number or complete accuracy virtually impossible. Regarding alcohol related incidents, I have only added together episodes of violence that specifically mention the involvement of alcohol. I am certain that a number of other incidents involved alcohol given that most brawls usually had taverns as their locale, the fights incorporated tavern implements such as tankards and silverware, or the altercations involved extremely bizarre behavior. Most likely, well over half of the one-hundred and sixty-three episodes of violence involved alcohol and intoxicated persons. With Native American incidents of violence, any calculation or analysis becomes exponentially more difficult because the only surviving records are those annotated by colonists. Because of this, we can not truly deduce the level of intoxication of Indians involved in altercations and neither can we pinpoint their exact motives for violence in a given situation. We also cannot conclude with certainty whether an episode of violence that pitted Indians against colonists was by nature military or an act of personal reprisal. Despite the lack of precision that these numbers represent, they can still give us a general idea about patterns of violence amongst New Netherland colonists and Native Americans and the involvement of alcohol in these altercations.. For the sources of my figures, see Ibid, pages 9, 24, 45-46, 50, 64, 73, 82, 88-89, 90, 92, 100-101, 104, 141-142, 145, 159, 183, 193, 198,204, 209, 211, 214, 217, 221, 223, 226, 230, 234, 243, 257, 271, 277-278, 290-291, 295, 298-299, 303, 322, 331, 334, 348, 352, 357-358, 361, 366, 386, 389-390, 421, 430, 433, 464, 522,524, 532, A.J.F. Van Laer. ed. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1638-1642*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 26, 37-39, 51, 52-53, 57-58, 90, 177, 201, 214. 256, A.J.F. Van Laer. ed. *Register of the Provincial Secretary, 1642-1647*.(Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 286, 332, 438, 478, A.J.F Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 47, 51-52, 62, 66, 97-99, 123-124, 190-192, 220, 222-223, 239, 255, 268, 282, 284, 315-316, 350-351, 359, 361, 462, 477, 484, 540-543, 555, 558, Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes,1652-1654*. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), pages 15, 22, 123, 166, 200, 201, 214, Charles T. Gehring trans and ed. *Council Minutes, 1655-1656*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995), page 68, A.J.F. Van Laer ed. *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck, 1648-1652*. (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1922), pages 35, 37-38, 47, 50, 53, 57-59, 62, 63-64, 66, 86, 88-89, 93-94, 97-98, 101, 105-110, 119, 122, 131-132, 135-138, 140, 150-152, 168, 172, 178-180, 184, 189-190, 196, Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), pages 22, 52-53, 67-71, 179-180, 184-185, 209, 305, 318-320, 335

[329] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, Inc., 1997) page 81.

[330] Ibid, pages 110-111

[331] Ibid, page 81.

family honor, colonists often assailed one another over seemingly trivial matters such as name calling or in the case of tavern keepers refusal to serve more strong drink after the ringing of the bell.[332]

In their acts of drunken violence, New Netherlanders used whatever weapons they could lay their hands on to include beer tankards, fence posts, fists, billiard cues, cutlasses, rocks, golf clubs, and even firearms. One colonist nearly ripped off the male genitals of a fellow colonist using blacksmith's tongs during a drunken brawl.[333] Overall, the colonists of New Netherland preferred to use knives to slash and stab one another in alcohol induced fits of rage. When it came to the consumption of alcohol, the colonists of New Netherland were not experts in maintaining their civility despite the mythos that men and women of Western Civilization were schooled in the "art of getting drunk."[334] In spite of the myth that Europeans had longstanding traditions governing the consumption of alcohol, the Dutch had just as much to fear from their drunken friends and neighbors as they did from the Iroquois

The boschloper elite on the upper Hudson constructed a hegemonic oligarchy on wealth, fear, and their manipulation of the legal system. These men unscrupulously used the colonial justice system, their power as public officials, and their authoritative positions in the Dutch Reformed Church's hierarchy to keep non-elite men and women out of their economic and political sphere of influence.[335] When the law failed to dissuade their competition, the boschloper magistrates of Beverwijck/Fort Orange used fear as their weapon, citing the hazards that drunken Indians presented to life and property.[336] They also appealed to religious beliefs, warning colonists that God Almighty would punish the colony through war, pestilence, or famine if anyone dared to sell alcohol to Indians.[337] The documents prove that the boschloper magistrates, their appeals to public safety, and their moral platitudes to prevent the sale of alcohol to the Iroquois and their

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[332] Ibid, pages 110-111
[333] For the specific incident with the blacksmith's tongs, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 211
[334] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 14-16, 19-21, 63-64, 67
[335] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the AmericanFrontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442. Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 144, 323, 435-437, 445, 500-502, 513 and A.J.F. Van Laer, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.*New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 523-524, 532-534, 546-549
[336] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 350
[337] Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1997), page 46

neighbors were nothing short of hypocritical. The boschloper magistrates of the Beverwijck/Fort Orange community freely supplied their Native American neighbors illegally with firearms, an exchange that already caused a great deal of fear and anxiety amongst colonists.[338] In addition, men from within their own privileged ranks freely sold alcohol to the Iroquois and their neighbors.[339] When it came to policing contraband trade in New Netherland, the foxes guarded the henhouse.

Economic decline in 1650's New Netherland had forced impoverished men and women to trade alcohol with the Iroquois in order to survive.[340] The primacy of the Indian trade pushed many to diversify their economic activities and become boschlopers and the production and sale of alcohol proved to be a tempting lure for many colonists, both wealthy and impoverished.[341] As boschlopers, the less prosperous residents of the Fort Orange community had an ideal tool of social subversion in alcohol. The monopoly of these boschloper magistrates could not withstand the strains of competition and the ingenuity of their fellow colonists in their determination to participate in contraband trade to Indians. Many more men and women would continue to venture into the woods as boschlopers well after the English conquest of New Netherland to illegally sell alcohol to the Iroquois and their neighbors.[342]

The Iroquois adapted alcohol to existing patterns within their culture during the seventeenth century, using it in their ceremonies and rituals. In the seventeenth-century, the Iroquois did not drink out of self-pity or to forget, but they did believe that to gain any benefit from it one had to be intoxicated.[343] Iroquois methods of alcohol consumption shocked and horrified colonists and the appearance of drunken Indians in their communities served to heighten Dutch fears of violence. While New Netherland colonists feared potential violence from drunken Iroquois, court documents reveal that they had just as much to fear from the drinking habits and protection of honor that their fellow Dutchmen practiced. Although the manipulation of fear and the use of the legal system allowed these elite boschlopers to control Dutch settlements on the upper

[338] Ibid, page 77
[339] Primarily Gerrit Van Slictenhorst, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 141
[340] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 183
[341] Donna Merwick. *Possessing Albany, 1630-1710: The Dutch and English Experiences.* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pages 77-80
[342] For more on contraband trade during the English period, see Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang, Publishing, 1997), pages 183-186, 193-206.

Hudson, it was ultimately the company's failure to control the currency that truly signaled their ascendance in the region, issues which the next chapter covers.

[343] Peter C. Mancall. *Deadly Medicine: Indians and Alcohol in Early America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pages 69-72.

CHAPTER 5

THE FAILURE OF ZEEWANT

In 1660, a diplomatic envoy of the Seneca traveled to Fort Orange to affirm their people's friendship with the colonists of New Netherland. Among the more pressing concerns such as peace with the Indians of the Esopus and the mistreatment of Iroquois traders by boschlopers, the Seneca also had points of contention regarding the trade for their peltries.[344] Concerning *zeewant*, one of the most essential goods to promote peace and goodwill in Iroquois culture, the Seneca demanded fifty hands of strung *zeewant* per beaver, but their requests did not end with this traditional commodity.[345] The Seneca also asked for "thirty double handfuls of powder for one beaver."[346] Just twenty-five years prior the Seneca promised Harmen Meyndertsz Van Den Bogaert in 1634-35 that if the Dutch gave them four hands of strung *zeewant* per beaver, they would trade their peltries with only the Dutch.[347] In the 1630's, the Seneca made no request of Van Den Bogaert for muskets, gunpowder, or lead. Within the span of twenty-five years, something had clearly changed in the culture of the Iroquois to make them demand more quantities of *zeewant* along with arms and munitions.

Elsewhere on the Isle of Manhattan, bakers refused to bake bread in the 1650's as it was no longer profitable for them to do so. Shortages in baking commodities forced bakers to pay higher prices in beavers for grain and flour and colonial ordinances forced them to sell their bread for

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[344] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 516-517

[345] Zeewant is the Dutch term that refers to sewant the commodity more popularly known as wampum, Gehring's translation, see Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 273

[346] Ibid, page 516

[347] Charles T. Gehring and William A. Starna, trans. and eds. *A Journey into Mohawk and Oneida Country, 1634-1635: The Journal of Harmen Meyndertsz van den* Bogaert (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1988), pages 15-16

devalued *zeewant*.[348] Susanna Jansen, tavern keeper and wife of Marten Hendericksz Bierkaecker sold alcohol to Indians to obtain beavers because none of her fellow colonists would accept *zeewant* for food.[349] The bakers of Manhattan protested to Dutch West India Company officials stating "whereby this place is so overstocked [with wampum] that it is held in no esteem by the bakers, brewers, traders and laborers and others that much difficulty is experienced in managing it.[350] During the early years of New Netherland's existence, colonists suffered from a lack of specie to buy necessary goods from European merchants. Company officials envisioned using *zeewant* to remedy New Netherland's lack of hard-currency, yet they failed to establish regulations governing production, quality, and distribution. Without definitive regulations, the company's solution to the lack of specie evolved into a new crisis in the form of inflation. The inflation of *zeewant* threatened to plunge New Netherland's economy into chaos and bring the Dutch on the verge of war with their allies, the Iroquois.[351]

These problems represent a large shift in the colonial culture and political structure of New Netherland. Colonists could no longer depend upon company endorsed currency to profit and survive. The demand of the Iroquois for an increased volume of *zeewant* and contraband goods in exchange for their peltries came into direct conflict with the company's ordinances that prohibited trading firearms and alcohol to Indians [352] This left many colonists with no other alternative than to oppose the company and become boschlopers in order to defend their personal safety and financial security.

Colonists increasingly looked to the local burgher elite, particularly men such as Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn, Phillip Pietersz Schuler, and Pieter Hartgers to serve as emissaries to the Iroquois to keep the trade in peltries open for the Dutch. These men possessed linguistic skills

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[348] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 20-21. For further information regarding the regulation of currency and the sale of bread, see Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 6, 22-25, 73, 75-76, 87-90.

[349] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 328

[350] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 52, 58

[351] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages xv-xvi, 149-150.

[352] For more detail on these ordinances, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 347-348, 514-515, Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 3, 9, 14-15, 18, 47-48, 62-63, 71-72, 83, A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 533, 562

and cultural knowledge of the Iroquois and Mahicans, skill sets indispensable in a colonial setting where not even the forest or residential walls separated Europeans from Indians, where men and women of both peoples frequently interacted with one another.[353] The boschloper elite frequently represented the interests of the Fort Orange community and supplanted the company as local economic and political authorities. The inflation of *zeewant* and the failure to ensure stability and security signaled the collapse of the company in the upper Hudson region and ushered in the emergence of a boschloper elite as local power brokers.[354] Through the exchange of contraband to the Iroquois, the boschloper elite erected a political and economically dominant oligarchy that would outlast both Dutch and English rule.[355]

While the value of *zeewant* depreciated for the colonists of New Netherland, it never lost its cultural centrality for the Iroquois. As a commodity, the Iroquois prized *zeewant* for its symbolic and cultural applications, not for its intrinsic value.[356] Although *zeewant* did not lose its cultural value to the Iroquois, they still felt the impact from its inflation as currency in New Netherland. The Iroquois valued goods on the based on the quality of labor and craftsmanship and the influx of cheaply made, mass produced zeewant caused them to recoil from its inferiority, requesting greater quantities of it in exchange for peltries.[357] In addition, the Iroquois also began demanding goods in addition to *zeewant* in order to maintain alliances of peaceful exchange, particularly firearms and munitions.[358]

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[353] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 163-167, Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 13-14

[354] Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684 ." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 66

[355] I agree with Oliver Rink that a private merchant elite ousted the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, particularly after 1639, see Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pages 18-19. Wim Klooster also presents a compelling argument that contraband traders thrived as the Dutch West India Company languished, see Wim Klooster. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. (Leiden: KLTV Press, 1998), pages 14-15, 38-39, 199-200, 203.

[356] For the importance of zeewant in Iroquois culture see Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 92-93, Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 47-49, Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 168-169, and James H. Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1999), pages 187-192

[357] For the decline in the beaver trade, see Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 183 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 84

[358] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 168-169, 174-175.

The earliest known contact between the Dutch and the Iroquois took place at Tagwagonshi in the vicinity of what would become Fort Orange on April 21,1613. Two Dutchmen named Jacob Eelkens and Hendrick Christiansen met with the Iroquois and exchanged a chain of silver for a fathom of *zeewant*.[359] They agreed to engage in peaceful exchange and to aid one another, especially with shortages of food. Though scholars have challenged the authenticity of this document which consists of two pieces of hide bound together by leather cord, it still illustrates the rationale behind the Iroquois exchange of *zeewant*.[360] In the Iroquois language, the term for "present" is synonymous with "word" and by giving Eelkens and Christiansen a fathom of *zeewant*, it was their bond to live with the Dutch in peace and treat them as brothers.[361] Over the next two-hundred years, the Iroquois referred to the chain that symbolically bound them to the colonists in the Fort Orange/Albany region, most likely referring to the silver chain that Eelkens and Christiansen had presented them with on that spring day in 1613.[362]

The Dutch clearly took these exchanges out of their intended context and based on their interacting with and observing the Iroquois and thought *zeewant* was a primitive form of currency and adopted it for their own use.[363] The absence of hard currency such as the guilder of the Dutch Republic led colonists to invent alternative forms of exchange. New Netherlanders used Spanish "Pieces of Eight" from captured ships and also exchanged food and materials for goods and services, but out of all these materials, *zeewant* emerged as the most promising for the Dutch to use as specie [364] In his 1653 Description of New Netherland, Adriaen Van Der Donck

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[359] A fathom was equal to six feet of zeewant, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page xxxvi.

[360] Iroquois Indians: *A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League*. Edited by Francis Jennings. 50 microfilm reels. Woodbridge: Research Publications, 1984.Strozier Micromaterials, The Florida State University.

[361] Father Vimont wrote in 1640 that to the Iroquois, "the term "present" is called "the word,'' in order to make clear that it is the present which speaks more forcibly than the lips," see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.* *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005).

[362] Iroquois Indians: *A Documentary History of the Diplomacy of the Six Nations and Their League*. Edited by Francis Jennings. 50 microfilm reels. Woodbridge: Research Publications, 1984.Strozier Micromaterials, The Florida State University.

[363] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 168-169

[364] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), Page 255, Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 62, and Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series.(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages xv-xvi, 149-150.

described how the Dutch depended upon *zeewant* for currency and also the simplicity of its manufacture:

Yet the use of gold and silver or any other minted currency is virtually unknown there. In the areas which the Christians frequent the Indians use a kind of currency they call *zeewant*. Anyone is free to make and acquire it, so that no counterfeiters are to be found amongst them. The currency comes in white and black, the black being worth half again as much as the white. It is made of conch shells, which are cast up by the sea about twice a year or taken from it. They knock off the thin shell wall around, keeping only the middle standard or pillar that is surrounded by the outer shell. These they grind smooth and even, and trim them according as the sticks are thick or thin. They drill a hole in each, string them on tough stalks, and file them down to equal size. Finally they restring the sticks on long cords and issue them in that form. This is the only money circulating among the Indians and in which one trades with them. Among our people, too, it is in general use for buying everything one needs. It is also traded in quantity, often by the thousand, because it is made in the coastal districts only and is mostly drawn for spending in the parts where the pelts come from.[365]

Van Der Donck had carefully recorded the intricate process involved in producing *zeewant*, a technique that developed as a product of cultural interaction between Native Americans and Europeans in the sixteenth century as the stringing of the beads required iron tools.[366] In the decades preceding the 1650's, the Iroquois used the Dutch to link them to other Native American producers of wampum, primarily the Pequot of Massachusetts Bay and the Narragansett of Rhode Island.[367] Dutch commercial shipping also gave the Iroquois access to colonial manufacturers who mass produced *zeewant* for use as currency and many New Netherlanders such as tavern keeper Baefje Peters aided in the process by stringing the beads.[368] This cooperation between New Netherland and Native American producers demonstrates the importance of *zeewant* in the trade for peltries and the larger colonial market.

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[365] Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), page 119

[366] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 84-86, and Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 93-94.

[367] Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 62

[368] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), Page 420. For more information on the so-called "shell triangle," see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), Page 84.

Van Der Donck's observations reveal Dutch perceptions of *zeewant* as currency, a perspective that highlighted cultural differences between New Netherlanders and the Iroquois.[369] The Dutch viewed the different colors of *zeewant* on an economic and monetary basis, appraising the black shells to be worth more than the white.[370] The Iroquois valued the different colors of *zeewant* from a cultural and symbolic perspective, using the white shells for making peace and the black for propositions and declarations of war.[371] While Van Der Donck astutely noted the commercial value of *zeewant* for the Dutch, he wrongly assumed that the Iroquois circulated the commodity as a form of currency. The Iroquois did not assign value to goods according to European economic standards as they appraised commodities by their workmanship, rarity, and usefulness.[372] The colonists of New Netherland soon learned the finer nuances behind the Iroquois valued *zeewant* when they imported larger quantities of cheaply made currency from New England.[373]

The power of Dutch commercial shipping gave the Iroquois greater access to colonial manufacturers and a wide variety of *zeewant*, not all of it high quality.[374] In order to bring a larger amount of *zeewant* into the colonial market, both the Dutch and English used non-traditional resources such as wood, stone, and glass, haphazardly drilling and stringing them

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[369] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 172, 178-179.

[370] The black shells were actually purple and were carved from the outer edges of a quahog shell. These shells were the rarest to find and thus the most prized, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 84, J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 301, and Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 168-169.

[371] Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), page. 121.

[372] For more on the "economics" of the Iroquois and their value of goods, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 18-23, Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 168-169, 174-175, and Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 66

[373] Ibid, page 66, Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 93-94, and Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press,1991), pages 23-34.

[374] Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 66

together.[375] Often, colonial and European producers of *zeewant* did not even bother to string the beads in their haste to produce more currency and colonial officials referred to this as "loose" *zeewant*, worth significantly less than "strung" *zeewant*.[376] Unfortunately for the New Netherland economy, the amount of cheaper "loose" *zeewant* quickly outstripped the quantity of good "strung" *zeewant* and in 1650, colonists bemoaned the declining value of their currency.[377]

An ordinance on the regulation of currency from May 1650 affirmed the sordid condition of New Netherland currency, referring to it as "loose sewant, among which many circulate without holes and half finished, made of stone, bone, glass, mussel shells, conch shells, even of wood and broken [pieces.]"[378] This cheaper form of *zeewant* sharply contrasted the beads described by Van Der Donck and reveals why the Iroquois did not value it and demanded more of it for their peltries. Throughout New Netherland at Fort Orange, the Isle of Manhattan, and the settlements on the Schuylkill, colonists had an abundance of cheap *zeewant* and its value decreased with each passing year. Though Director General Stuyvesant knew this to be the case and apparently had even written the directors of the company about it, he firmly resolved all colonists should recognize *zeewant* as legitimate specie and accept it.[379] Only four months after passage of the May ordinance which prohibited the circulation of cheap, "loose" beads as currency, Stuyvesant enacted a new law in September that allowed colonists to exchange "poorly strung" *zeewant* legal tender in New Netherland, a near reversal of his previous ruling.[380] Although Stuyvesant enacted this ordinance with the intention of putting more specie into the pockets of poor colonists, he inadvertently gutted the economy of New Netherland.

Despite New Netherland's economic downturn in the 1650's, Stuyvesant was resolved to deal with the crisis and assert the dominion of the company through further regulation of the

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[375] Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 23-34 and Francis Jennings. *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest.* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), pages 93-94.

[376] The colonists of New Netherland even subcategorized strung zeewant into "well-strung," "poorly strung," and not strung at all "loose" zeewant. The "well-strung" zeewant was worth substantially more, see Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 23-25, 75-76, 87-89 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), page 85

[377] Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press,1991), pages 23-24.

[378] Ibid, pages 25-26.

[379] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series.(Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), pages 149-150 and Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 23-25, 75-76, 87-89

currency.[381] In 1651, the company rated beaver pelts as worth eight guilders in New Netherland, with the potential to bring ten guilders per pelt in Europe.[382] Regarding *zeewant*, the value ratio between *stivers* and black beads shifted from six to eight per *stiver* in 1657, and in 1659 the value of white beads to the *stiver* dropped from twelve to sixteen.[383] Although these values represented the company's estimations, they did not reflect reality.

Most colonists and European merchants who visited New Netherland to sell their goods would not even accept *zeewant* as payment.[384] With such an availability of cheap wampum, the colonists of New Netherland found their currency practically useless in the colonial market of the 1650's. If the colonial government forced merchants, artisans, shopkeepers, and bakers to accept *zeewant* as payment, they would charge outrageously high prices for their goods which reflected its true value as currency in the colonial market.[385] Cornelius Van Tienhoven, provincial secretary of New Netherland wrote in 1650 that:

Merchants or factors, are themselves the cause of this, since they are the persons who, for those articles which cost here one hundred guilders, charge there, over and above the first cost, including insurance, duties, laborer's wages, freight, etc., one and two hundred per cent. or more profit.[386]

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[380] Ibid, pages 25-26.

[381] Ibid, pages 23-25, 75-76, 87-89. For more information on the economic troubles in New Netherland and the scarcity of beaver pelts, see Dennis Sullivan. *The Punishment of Crime in Colonial New York: The Dutch Experience in Albany during the Seventeenth Century*. (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, 1997), page 151and Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 183. The Dutch West India Company not only faced economic hardship from the decline in the trade for peltries in New Netherland, they also lost Brazil, the crown-jewel of their holdings in 1654. Win Klooster notes that the struggle to hold Brazil ruined the Dutch West India Company and drained its coffers, see Wim Klooster. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. (Leiden: KILTV Press, 1998), page 37 and Jonathan I. Israel. *Dutch Primacy in World Trade, 1585-1740*. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), page 38.

[382] Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 109.

[383] E.B. O'Callaghan. *History of New Netherland or New York Under the Dutch*. 2 vols. (CD-ROM.) (New York: D. Appleton, 1848,) page 543, Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 75-76, 87-89. A *stiver* was worth one twentieth of a guilder which was the currency of the Dutch Republic. An average Dutch laborer earned one guilder a day, see Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page xxxviii.

[384] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 52, 58.

[385] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 322-323.

[386] Ibid, page 360

Van Tienhoven's comments affirm that the colonists of New Netherland had an ample supply of currency they could not spend, even to buy the most basic necessities.[387] Stuyvesant and Van Tienhoven blamed the depreciation of currency on the greed of merchants, shopkeepers, and artisans, but the origins of the problem were far deeper than individual profiteering. Not only did New Netherland colonists have an oversupply of worthless *zeewant*, New England "Scot" merchants flooded the colonial market by paying twenty-five percent more to the Iroquois for their peltries than the Dutch [388] The currency woes in New Netherland had grown too large for the company to control through policy and regulation alone.

At the height of the decline of the trade for peltries in January 1657, Stuyvesant and the Council of New Netherland devised a scheme to rid the colony of its cheap *zeewant*.[389] Taking cues from reality, Stuyvesant redesignated cheap *zeewant* as "merchandise and commodity" and forbade its use as currency amongst colonists for larger purchases. Regarding good, "evenly strung" *zeewant* Stuyvesant affirmed its viability for exchange, but only in company "stamped measures" of five, ten, and twenty *stivers*.[390] Despite these measures to preserve the integrity of the currency, the previous ordinances failed as did the idea to rid the colony of its excess in cheap *zeewant*.

In an attempt to maintain the company's tenuous grip on order, Stuyvesant relented and in November of 1657 he acknowledged that the value of *zeewant* had decreased and ordered a reduction of its worth in *stivers*.[391] Although this adjustment in currency reveals that the company finally acknowledged that the value of *zeewant* had dropped, this measure was still not enough to resurrect New Netherland's ailing currency. Like the proverbial Dutch boy with his finger in the dike, Stuyvesant found himself moving to fix one problem after another as it pertained to currency. As the economy collapsed, New Netherlanders found themselves in the midst of a "wampum crisis" where *zeewant* could not even put food on the table for poorer

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[387] Neil Salisbury. "Toward the Covenant Chain: Iroquois and Southern New England Algonquians, 1637-1684." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 66

[388] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 44, 58. A "Scot" merchant usually referred to a petty trader that did not reside in New Netherland, but passed through only to sell merchandise, see consult Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1647-1653*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2000), page 115.

[389] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 52-53.

[390] Charles T. Gehring. trans and ed. *Laws and Writs of Appeal, 1647-1663*. New Netherland Documents Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1991), pages 75-76

[391] Ibid, pages 87-89

colonists.[392] In the end, the Dutch had misinterpreted Iroquois use and value of *zeewant*, a mistake that had literally cost them dearly. Because their different use *zeewant* and distributive economics, the Iroquois did not feel the more negative effects of the 1650's "wampum crisis" as did the colonists of New Netherland and instead found themselves in an advantageous bargaining position.[393]

To the Iroquois, *zeewant* was an item of inestimable cultural value because of its connection to the Deganawidah Epic. In the story, grief had overpowered Hiawatha, a young Iroquois warrior who was mourning the loss of his daughters. In an uncontrollable rage he stormed off into the forested where he encountered the entity the Iroquois called Deganawidah or the "Peacemaker." Deganawidah assuaged Hiawatha's grief and calmed his murderous rage, presenting him with shell beads called wampum. Deganawidah promised Hiawatha that if men everywhere were to accept wampum then all warfare, carnage, and grief would cease.[394] For the Iroquois, the exchange of *zeewant* tied the Deganawidah epic to mourning rituals and the gift of beads had the power to eliminate grief and compensate for the loss of loved ones and important members of the community.[395] The sachems and headmen of the Five Nations met yearly to resolve their differences and to exchange condolences, goodwill, and *zeewant*. These meetings held the very fabric of the Great League of Peace and Power together and the exchange of *zeewant* symbolized the commitment of the Five Nations to maintain the "Great Peace."[396]

Not only was the exchange of *zeewant* integral for the internal affairs of the Iroquois, they also believed that it applied universally to all men. An example of the importance of *zeewant* in external interactions comes from an October 1658 peace conference with the Dutch and the Seneca where the *Minquaes* presented *zeewant* to bolster their propositions and negotiate peace:[397]

They say they want powder and balls from the Dutch to kill deer, to sell these afterwards to the Swannekins." A belt of wampum here backed this assertion. The orator, then offering another wampum belt, continued:—"A horse belonging to Jacob Jansen Stol broke into our corn-fields and destroyed two of our plantations. One of our boys shot it, for which we gave Stol seventy

[392] For more details on the wampum crisis, see Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), page 57
[393] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 171-172.
[394] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 31-32
[395] Ibid, pages 32-33, 38-39
[396] The "Great Peace" referred to the binding ideals that held the Iroquois League together, namely the bringing together of peoples under peaceful exchange, goodwill, and mutual condolence, see Ibid, pages 40, 44-45.
[397] Ibid, pages 40-41

guilders in wampum. But this belt we now present, so that the soldiers may let us go in peace, and not beat us when we visit this place.[398]

During the peace negotiations, the *Minquaes* supported their words with the presentation of wampum belts to confirm their sincerity. Although the *Minquaes* had already compensated Jacob Jansen Stol for the loss of his horse, they rendered an additional belt of *zeewant* to halt aggressions from the Dutch and the Seneca. To the Iroquois, words were nothing without material affirmation of sincerity and those propositioned or negotiated peace with the Iroquois had to present gifts of *zeewant*, otherwise the representatives of the Five Nations would not take the proceedings seriously.[399]

If colonists or neighboring Native Americans were not involved in this peaceful exchange of *zeewant*, positive thoughts, and goodwill with the Iroquois it meant that they were enemies of the Great League of Peace and Power.[400] The Iroquois freely ambushed and raided the communities of their enemies for captives, yet the Five Nations would just as quickly extend their hand in peace if their adversaries offered to meet and exchange presents of *zeewant*.[401] For the Iroquois, peace was a fragile and conditional state and their newfound friends and allies had to do their part in maintaining the peace through gifts of wampum. If they failed to do their part in keeping peace, they risked war with the Iroquois.[402]

Zeewant not only had the ability to broker peace and unite peoples together, it also served to document propositions and record the proceedings from negotiations.[403] Strung together, *zeewant* documented peace transactions and served as records of spoken words and agreements which the Iroquois expected their greatest orators and headmen to maintain knowledge of and recite.[404] *Zeewant* also had the ability to symbolically "talk" and carry messages to distant places. In preparing their message an Iroquois headmen would relay the message to an orator, but direct his

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[398] E.B. O'Callaghan. *History of New Netherland or New York Under the Dutch*. 2 vols. (CD-ROM.) (New York: D. Appleton, 1848), page 369. *Minquaes* was another Dutch term for the Susquehanna Indians, see Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1654-1658*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), page 231.
[399] Mary A. Druke. "Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pages 36-37.
[400] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 40, 49
[401] Ibid, page 49
[402] Mary A. Druke. "Linking Arms: The Structure of Iroquois Intertribal Diplomacy." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), page 33.
[403] John H, Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier*. (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc, 1996), pages 189, 192.
[404] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 46-49

words towards the belt of *zeewant*. For the Iroquois, the messenger did not travel, but the *zeewant* did.[405] Equally elaborate and rife with symbolism, the actual presentation and exchange of *zeewant* demanded skill as an orator in addition to nimbleness of hand. An Iroquois orator would simultaneously twist and maneuver the belt while speaking to illustrate the various points of a message and symbolize actions such as the building of a fort or the opening of a road.[406] In 1641, an Iroquois orator used a *zeewant* belt in such a feat of diplomatic symbolism when negotiating peace with the French.

> Taking another porcelain collar, he put it on the ground in the form of a circle. "See," said he, "the house that we shall have at the Three Rivers , when we come there to trade with you, we shall smoke therein without fear, since we shall have Onontio for a brother.[407]

In this instance, the Iroquois orator manipulated the shape of the *zeewant* belt to symbolize a longhouse, reinforcing the sincerity of his words as he delivered a message of peace. Such intricate displays of symbolism in regard to the exchange of *zeewant* were certainly not isolated and were a daily part of Iroquois diplomacy, culture, and record keeping.

The versatility of *zeewant* in diplomacy reveals that the Iroquois did not exchange it as currency for the purpose of monetary gain. The Dutch believed that the Iroquois and their Native American neighbors traded *zeewant* in accordance with a larger economic system as understood by Europeans and colonial observers such as Van Der Donck missed or ignored the nuances of its exchange.[408] The idea of trading for economic enrichment simply did not exist amongst the Iroquois. The Iroquois use of *zeewant* was far more complex than Europeans were willing to believe.[409] To participate in trade with the Iroquois was to earn their alliance and friendship, but they expected reciprocity in this relationship as they did in all matters of life. When the Iroquois participated in trade with the colonists of New Netherland, it was not simply the exchange of *zeewant* for beaver pelts as they believed that these gifts cemented spoken words of truce and

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[405] Ibid, page 188
[406] Ibid, pages 189-191
[407] Onontio was the Iroquois reference for the Governor of New France, see Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*. *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005).
[408] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 167, 172 and Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. (Syracuse: (Syracuse University Press, 1996), page 119
[409] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 169-170.

brotherhood between the Dutch and the Five Nations and their custom demanded that they support their diplomatic overtures with further action.[410]

Quick to notice the inequities in their relationship, the Iroquois noted that the Dutch frequently lapsed in maintaining their part of the covenant. Not only did the Mohawk point out that Dutchmen failed to compensate the families of their deceased Iroquois spouses, they also remarked that they did not help them in the way that the French aided their Huron and Algonquin allies.[411] The Dutch repeatedly refused to accompany the Iroquois in combat and also aid them with manpower in the building and maintenance of forts.[412] Because the Dutch failed to meet Iroquois expectations which stemmed from their own culture and from observing the French and their Indian allies, the leaders of the Five Nations thought the colonists of New Netherland "afraid" and "cowardly."[413]

Since the Dutch did not support their diplomatic exchange with the Iroquois through action, their words were as cheap as their *zeewant*. In return for their peltries, the Iroquois expected the Dutch to reciprocate for their personal hardship and sacrifice by giving them increasingly larger quantities of *zeewant* and extra goods.[414] Of these extra commodities, the Iroquois prized firearms and munitions the most. Less reliance on *zeewant* as an intermediary between the Five Nations and the Dutch combined with the increasing demands of the Iroquois for muskets and gunpowder that transformed the colonial culture of New Netherland.[415]

While *zeewant* remained an essential ingredient of diplomatic exchange for the Iroquois and their Native American neighbors, the economic catastrophe in New Netherland during the 1650's rendered *zeewant* virtually worthless as a medium between the Dutch and the Iroquois.[416] Knowing they could not present the Dutch with *zeewant* and expect them to comply with their requests, the Iroquois substituted beavers when making important propositions. The Mohawk envoy to Fort Orange commented in 1659 that "the Dutch say that we are brothers and that we

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[410] Ibid, pages 168-170.
[411] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 454
[412] Ibid, pages 457-458.
[413] Ibid, page 454 and J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 274
[414] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 169, 175-176, 179
[415] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 180-181
[416] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 44, 58 and John H. Merrell. *Into the American Woods: Negotiators on the Pennsylvania Frontier.* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company Inc, 1996), pages 189-191.

are joined together with chains, but that lasts as long as we have beavers."[417] Knowing that they were more likely to get what they needed through beaver pelts, the Iroquois only used *zeewant* for opening diplomatic proceedings or trivial requests. When the Mohawk envoy visited Fort Orange in 1659, they began negotiations with the Dutch by saying that " We have taken the path to treat with one another in friendship" and presented one string of *zeewant*.[418] The Mohawk also presented the Fort Orange representatives with one string of *zeewant* when they announced they would report all colonists who sold alcohol to Indians, adding "although we now propose this it will not stop it."[419]

Reserving their beavers for more important matters, the Mohawk delegation presented the Fort Orange representatives with two beavers alongside their request for fifty to sixty pounds of gunpowder.[420] When the Mohawk asked the Dutch for horses and men to repair their castles, they also offered a coat of beaver skins and one beaver.[421] The behavior of the 1660 Seneca envoy closely mirrored that of the Mohawk delegation, but they did not present *zeewant* for any of their nineteen propositions to the Dutch. Instead, the Seneca presented beavers with every request that they made and the number of pelts that they offered denoted the immediacy of their needs. Like the Mohawk, the Seneca asked the Fort Orange representatives for more gunpowder and shot, offering three beavers to illustrate their vital need of Dutch munitions. In an equally important request for "thirty double handfuls of powder" or "fifty hands of *zeewant*" per pelt, the Seneca presented the Fort Orange representatives with three beavers, admonishing them that "you have slept until now, therefore we wake you up again."[422] Acutely aware that the colonists of New Netherland did not value *zeewant* as much as peltries, they substituted beavers in their diplomatic exchanges with the Dutch.

In the 1650's, supplying the Dutch with beaver pelts became increasingly problematic for the Iroquois. Intensified hunting had brought the beaver to near extinction in the American Northeast.[423] This translated into more labor for the Iroquois as they had to extend their hunting

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[417] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 453
[418] Ibid, page 453
[419] Ibid, pages 453-454
[420] Ibid, page 454
[421] Ibid, page 454
[422] Ibid, page 516
[423] Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), pages 85, 87 and Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 96-99.

trips for beaver which subtracted from the time available to hunt food for their families.[424] Having acquired peltries that were in high demand for Europeans, the Iroquois were in an advantageous bargaining position and in return for their sacrifice and their labor the Iroquois demanded more for their peltries from the Dutch [425] Since the Iroquois held the *zeewant* and the words of the Dutch in low esteem, the Iroquois more frequently demanded scare items in return for their labor, particularly firearms and alcohol which had an immediate practical value in a time of turmoil and perpetual warfare.[426]

The Iroquois prized firearms and munitions more than the poorly made *zeewant.* Throughout the 1640's and 1650's, widespread epidemics and protracted conflicts against European and Native American enemies caused fatalities amongst the Iroquois, increasing the need to replenish their population through "mourning war" raids.[427] All of these factors led to an increased demand for muskets, gunpowder and shot among the Iroquois. This revealed to New Netherland colonists that simply exchanging *zeewant* for peltries no longer guaranteed friends, allies and trading partners among the Five Nations. Although firearms and munitions did not completely replace *zeewant*, the Iroquois adapted their culture to incorporate these commodities as the premier commodities of diplomatic exchange with Europeans.[428]

As the French discovered, refusing these requests of the Iroquois for firearms and munitions could potentially lead to a breakdown in peaceful diplomatic exchange and often lead to dangerous consequences. The Iroquois had come to treat with the French in 1640, wishing peace and offering to release captives from New France. To reinforce their words of peace and friendship, the Iroquois presented the French with beaver pelts and belts of *zeewant*, accompanied by skilled oration and an elaborate ceremony. As part of the peaceful exchange of

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[424] Ibid, pages 76-77.
[425] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 171-172.
[426] Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), pages 109-112.
[427] For more information on the relationship between epidemics and the so-called "mourning wars," see Daniel K. Richter. "War and Culture: The Iroquois Experience." *The William and Mary Quarterly*., 3rd Ser. Vol. 40. (Oct., 1983), pages 537, 539-541
[428] Ibid, pages 537, 539-541. For more information about the wars against the Indians of the Esopus, otherwise called the Leni Lenape and the Delaware, see Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization.* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 96-97, Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 207, 218, 220, 405-406, 459, 472, 496, and Charles T. Gehring, trans and ed. *Correspondence, 1654-1658*. New Netherland Document Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003), page 231. For references that reveal the tensions between the Mohawk and the Seneca, see

gifts and captives, the Iroquois asked the French for firearms. Ever suspicious of Iroquois' intentions and not wanting to exclude their Algonquin allies from diplomacy, the French refused the offers of the Iroquois. Gravely offended, the Iroquois resumed their offensive. It would be another five years new peace negotiations[429]

The Dutch were likely well informed of occurrences in New France through Jesuit missionaries who had escaped captivity among the Iroquois.[430] Having once themselves engaged in a destructive war with the Iroquois, New Netherlanders were not eager to revisit the misfortunes that such a conflict could bring to the colony.[431] Increased competition in the 1650's with New England merchants who gave the Iroquois more *zeewant* and firearms for their pelts placed the Dutch in a precarious position. Company officials knew that if they did not heed the requests of the Iroquois for firearms and munitions, they risked far more than economic catastrophe. As Stuyvesant remarked in 1654:

Considering that if the aforesaid munitions were cut off suddenly and completely from the aforesaid [Mohawk] nation, then the good settlers of the aforesaid respective [Fort Orange and Beverwijck] villages and establishments may thereby suffer some misfortune or at least thereby see the whole trade diverted… Whereas the aforesaid Mohawks, now our good friends, have been out of necessity forced to seek munitions from our neighbor, from whom they can also get a larger quantity of sewant for the beavers, and have already received substantial presents and gifts from the English in order to attract their trade; therefore, with the loss of their trade it might well follow that we would also lose the Mohawks' friendship and consequently burden our people and nation with more misfortune.[432]

When Stuyvesant spoke of "misfortune," he did not only imply the economic kind. The Dutch knew that if they did not maintain peaceful exchange with the Iroquois and supply them with the firearms it would compromise the peace that colonists had worked hard to maintain and expose

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and Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 518

[429] Reuben Gold Thwaites, ed. *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791.* *Cleveland: Burrows Brothers) http://puffin.creighton.edu /jesuit/relations/relations_21.html (accessed 16 January 2005) and Daniel K. Richter. "Ordeals of the Longhouse: The Five Nations in Early American History." *Beyond the Covenant Chain*. Daniel K. Richter and James H. Merrell, eds. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1987), pages 21-22.

[430] Jesuits and colonists of New France taken captive by the Iroquois often escaped to New Netherland. The two most well known are Father Isaac Jogues and Pierre Esprit Radisson, see Dean R. Snow, Charles T. Gehring, and William A. Starna, eds. *In Mohawk Country: Early Narratives About a Native People*. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1996), pages 22-23, 91-92

[431] The Dutch had went to war with the Mohawk on the side of the Mahicans in 1625. Daniel Van Krieckebeeck, then the commander of Fort Orange led a disastrous expedition outside the fort to attack the Mohawk in which many of the Dutch were killed. The Mohawk forced the Dutch to abandon Fort Orange for Manhattan at the time, see and J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 84-85

settlements to direct attack.[433] The Dutch not only stood to lose the trade in peltries, but also their very lives.

New Netherland's burgher oligarchs and premier traders also commented on the serious condition of their trading partnership with the Iroquois. In the Remonstrance of New Netherland authored by Van Der Donck and endorsed by Govert Lockermaans, the burghers of Manhattan agreed with Stuyvesant's observation regarding the Iroquois and their demand for firearms.[434]

> On this account the Indians endeavored no less to procure guns, and through the familiarity which existed between them and our people, they began to solicit them for guns and powder, but as such was forbidden on pain of death and it could not remain secret in consequence of the general conversation, they could not obtain them. This added to the previous contempt and greatly augmented the hatred which stimulated to conspire against us, beginning first by insults which they everywhere indiscreetly uttered railing at us as *Materiotty* (that is to say) the cowards--that we might indeed be something on water, but of no account on land, and that we had neither a great sachem nor chiefs.[435]

The remonstrance reveals that The Mohawk expected firearms, not *zeewant* from the colonists of New Netherland in order to maintain mutual diplomatic exchange. As with the French, the Iroquois chafed at the failure of the Dutch to reciprocate their gifts of peace and goodwill by calling them cowards. The Iroquois demanded much more than *zeewant* from the Dutch in exchange for their friendship and expected for them to support the Five Nations against their enemies. If the Dutch would not augment Iroquois' "mourning war" raids physically with manpower, they at least expected support in the form of forbidden firearms and munitions.[436]

Stuyvesant knew that he could not hope to maintain New Netherland's alliance with the Iroquois by *zeewant* alone and authorized only company employees, himself included to trade firearms and munitions secretly and in limited amounts out of Fort Orange.[437] Stuyvesant excused himself and the company's trade of firearms to Indians, saying to the burghers of New Amsterdam and the company's trade of firearms, that "he was allowed, on behalf of the

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[432] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 116

[433] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 180-181

[434] Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1981), page 31.

[435] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 274.

[436] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 167-172.

[437] Charles T. Gehring, trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1652-1654*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1983), page 116

company, to sell powder, lead and guns to the Indians, but no one else could do so."[438] The burgher elite of New Amsterdam and the Fort Orange/Beverwijck community regarded Stuyvesant's comments as hypocritical and by monopolizing the contraband trade in firearms, they claimed the company threatened the safety and economic well-being of colonists. In a petition to Stuyvesant, the burgher oligarchs of the Beverwijck/Fort Orange community drafted a petition asking that the company not interfere with their trade of contraband firearms, remarking that "if that trade were entirely abolished all the Christians in the colony would run great danger of being murdered."[439]

The company and the private merchant elite of Fort Orange and Beverwijck were in direct conflict over trade with the Iroquois. A firestorm of accusations and political confrontations erupted out of this conflict. For many of New Netherland's merchants and artisans, the falling value of *zeewant* and the colonial administration's insistence that all accept it as currency was evidence enough that the company had lost control of the colony.[440] Company officials in turn blamed greedy colonial traders and enterprising merchants for New Netherland's sluggish economy.[441] Out of the whirlwind of accusations between the company and the burgher elite, few unexaggerated truths are evident, but the boschlopers emerged to take control of the situation .

Many of the more prominent boschlopers of Fort Orange and Beverwijck were not only respected members of the community, but the Iroquois and the Mahicans held them in high esteem as well.[442] The Mohawk certainly viewed the magistrates of the Beverwijck and Fort Orange courts in addition to Stuyvesant as "essentially the chiefs of the entire country to whom we all look up."[443] Many of these magistrates such as Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn, Phillip Pietersz Schuler, Gerrit Van Slictenhorst, Jan Thomassen, and Pieter Hartgers were also boschlopers that had developed a special relationship of diplomatic exchange with the Iroquois.[444]

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[438] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 344.
[439] Ibid, pages 368-369.
[440] Ibid, pages 320-322 and Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 52, 58
[441] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 360.
[442] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 144-145, 442
[443] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 516
[444] Ibid, pages 435-436, 445 502

The boschlopers of Beverwijck/Fort Orange had long been attuned to developments in neighboring Native American communities and understood the customs of the Iroquois. Many of the prominent boschlopers were also fluent in local Native American languages and Gerrit Van Slictenhorst and Jan Thomassen routinely served as translators for the Mohawk and the Mahicans.[445] In addition to possessing skill as translators, the boschlopers of New Netherland served as cultural intermediaries by opening up their homes to the Iroquois. A supporter of Director General Willem Kieft had complained about the boschlopers in 1647:

Not being satisfied with merely taking them into their houses in the customary manner, but attracting them by extraordinary attention, such as admitting them to the table, laying napkins before them, presenting wine to them and more of that kind of thing.[446]

Such occurrences were commonplace in the colonial environment of New Netherland as the Dutch and the Iroquois frequently shared food, drink and living accommodations. Even Brant Van Slictenhorst, former director of Rensselaerswijck opened his home to Mohawk war captains on several occasions.[447]

The boschlopers of New Netherland served an even more important community function by distributing firearms and munitions to the Iroquois, the commodities that had supplanted *zeewant* to become the mainstay of the fur trade by the 1650's.[448] Where the company failed in regularly supplying the Five Nations with muskets, gunpowder, and shot, the boschlopers succeeded. It is no mere coincidence that Jerimias Van Rensselaer, Jan Thomassen, and Phillip Pietersz Schuyler were three of the Fort Orange representatives that went to a Mohawk community in 1659 for a diplomatic meeting.[449] As two of the primary trading families in New Netherland, the Van Rensselaer and Schuyler connection were the most attuned to the needs of the Iroquois.[450] Together with fellow boschlopers Jan Thomassen, Jacob Jansz Schermerhoorn, and Pieter Hartgers, Schuyler and Van Rensselaer and Schuyler regularly made public contributions of lead and gunpowder to the Iroquois. In 1654, the boschloper oligarchs of Fort Orange and Beverwijck presented the Iroquois with a total of nine pounds of powder and forty-four fathoms

[445] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 163-167.
[446] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 273-274.
[447] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 164.
[448] Ibid, pages 180-181.
[449] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 456.

of *zeewant*.[451] Again in 1659, they rendered eleven "bunches of *zeewant*" and "seventy-five pounds of powder and one-hundred pounds of lead" to "distribute amongst the young men."[452]

In the same manner that they would break *zeewant* belts and redistribute the beads throughout the community, Iroquois headmen doled out gunpowder and lead to their young warriors. By accepting these gifts of firearms and munitions from the boschlopers, the Iroquois affirmed that they wished to continue the state of peaceful exchange with the Dutch. In the cycle of reciprocity that was pivotal to Iroquois culture, it meant that they would use Dutch arms and munitions to bring more peltries to the community and supply the peoples of both nations with wild game for food.[453]

As trade commodities, firearms and munitions replaced *zeewant* as the primary medium of exchange in the trade for peltries with the Iroquois.[454] Although these public presentations of munitions to the Iroquois reveal their overt interest and involvement in maintaining peace with the Five Nations, it does not illustrate the full spectrum of their activities. The boschlopers were heavily involved in supplying the Iroquois with arms and munitions away from the scrutiny of the colonial justice system and no precise records of individual transactions exist. The documents do confirm that this contraband trade existed and occasionally boschlopers stood trial for trading in the woods or in the case of Schermerhoorn, openly admitting their crimes. It is cases like Schermerhoorn's that offer a rare glimpse into the smuggling network that provided a direct pipeline of firearms, gunpowder, and shot to the Iroquois.[455]

Where arms and munitions had succeeded, *zeewant* ultimately failed to hold the friendship of the Dutch and the Iroquois together. Locked in a battle with the compsany to control the trade for peltries the burgher elite of Manhattan and the Fort Orange Beverwijck community demanded that officials recognize their rights as Dutchmen to interact and trade with the Iroquois

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[450] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 189, 191, 254, 258

[451] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 147

[452] Ibid, page 458

[453] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 169-170. For instances where the colonists of New Netherland depended upon Indians for food, see Charles T. Gehring. trans. and ed. *Delaware Papers: Dutch Period, 1648-1664*. New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc., 1981), pages 131, 236, 240

[454] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 189, 191, 254, 258

[455] A.J.F. Van Laer. trans. and ed. *Council Minutes, 1638-1649.* (New York Historical Manuscripts Series. (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1974), pages 532-535 and J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 345.

[456] To these men, the company had treated "Christians like Indians" for too long by overcharging colonists for goods necessary for survival.[457] Combined with these inflated costs, the boschloper oligarchs regarded Stuyvesant as a tyrant for his steadfast promotion of *zeewant* as the official currency of New Netherland because they could not use it to purchase even the most basic items.[458] Many of New Netherland's poorer colonists could not even rely on *zeewant* to put food on their tables and the useless state of the currency signaled that the company had lost its power in managing internal and external affairs.[459]

Not only did many colonists chafe at the devalued state of their currency, they were also angry with the company for jeopardizing their property and personal safety. The failure to successfully manage *zeewant* as currency and use it to maintain peaceful relations with the Iroquois was the last vestige of company power to crumble in New Netherland, ushering in an era of local political and economic domination by a mercantile elite that would last for the next two centuries.[460] The more prominent boschlopers were the foundation of this elite as the Van Rensselaers, the Schuylers, and their clientele built their fortunes and networks of political power through their continued interaction and exchange with the Iroquois. Under this emerging power structure, the ranks of the poor continued to swell as the burgher oligarchs claimed an exclusive right to trade with the Iroquois. Ordinary men and women without powerful political and financial connections struggled to survive during a period of economic troubles. The mercantile oligarchy which replaced the company had erected social and legal barriers to the trade with the Iroquois, thwarting their means to earn a living and their chances for economic prosperity.[461]

The Iroquois did not suffer economic consequences from the devaluation of *zeewant* in the same way that the colonists of New Netherland did. *Zeewant* remained an integral part of record keeping and intertribal exchange, but they relied more on beaver pelts in their interactions with

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[456] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 20-21.
[457] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), pages 52, 58.
[458] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 238-239.
[459] Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660*. New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), page 328
[460] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1986), pages 18-19 and Patricia U Bonomi. *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1971), page 5
[461] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier, 1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), pages 238-239

the Dutch. The fact that the Iroquois had to labor harder to obtain beavers combined with a period of continued warfare drove the Iroquois to demand more goods in return for peltries.[462] Not only did they hold the words and *zeewant* of the Dutch in low esteem and therefore demanded more goods in return for their hard-earned peltries. Between 1634 and 1659, New Netherland experienced a period of change in colonial culture as Indians and Europeans changed the way in which they exchanged not only commodities, but also words of peace and friendship.[463]

[462] Matthew Dennis. *Cultivating a Landscape of Peace: Iroquois-European Encounters in Seventeenth Century America*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993), pages 175-176.
[463] Ibid, pages 168-169, 174-175

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS

Dealing with the Iroquois pervaded nearly every facet of life for New Netherland colonists. The influence of the Iroquois manifested itself most in the trade of contraband firearms and alcohol that the Iroquois desired most from the Dutch. To negotiate with the Iroquois for peltries and their friendship, many New Netherland colonists became boschlopers, violating the laws of the Dutch West India Company by trading contraband items. The very existence of New Netherland hinged on the goodwill of the Iroquois, a fact that both the Dutch West India Company and the boschlopers realized.

The Iroquois controlled access to the peltries that Dutch traders desired most and their increasing raids for captives augmented by firearms allowed them to contain the French and ultimately disburse their longtime rivals, the Huron in 1649.[464] Iroquois control of important trading routes and their emergence as power brokers in the American Northeast allowed them to influence and manipulate the Leni Lenape, the Narragansett, the Susquehanna, the Raritan, and several other neighboring Native American groups. The dominance of the Iroquois even extended beyond Native America to reach the fragile settlements of Europeans. The English, Dutch, French, and Swedes knew they were no match militarily for the Five Nations and these colonial powers scrambled to earn the favor of the Iroquois.[465] As an Iroquois emissary famously noted to the Dutch "might indeed be something on water, but of no account on land."[466] Even if the Netherlands could have brought the full-strength of the Dutch army to bear against the Five Nations, they likely would have been no match for the Iroquois in the forests of North America.

While disease and intertribal warfare had decreased the population of the Iroquois during the seventeenth-century, they were still a force that the Dutch had to negotiate with to ensure their

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[464] Daniel K. Richter, *The Ordeal of the Longhouse: The Peoples of the Iroquois League in the Era of European Colonization*. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992), pages 35, 57 and Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), page 117

[465] Michael A. Bellesiles. *Arming America: The Origins of a National Gun Culture*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2000), pages 124, 135.

[466] J. F. Jameson. *Narratives of New Netherland, 1609-1664*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1909), page 274.

survival.[467] The Dutch West India Company was not in any position to function as a major power broker in New Netherland, let alone serve as an emissary to the Iroquois In exchange for their friendship and their peltries, the Iroquois demanded firearms and munitions from their Dutch allies. Trapped in the Brazilian jungle fighting the Spanish and the Portuguese, the Dutch West India Company did not have the resources and manpower necessary to manage relations with the Iroquois.[468] Boschlopers tied to the recently deposed Van Rensselaer patroonship seized the opportunity to reinvent themselves as community patriarchs and emissaries to the Iroquois. These boschlopers used their wealth and connections to the most prominent merchants in Amsterdam to mobilize artisans and smugglers throughout New Netherland. The boschlopers used these vast organizations to broker with the Iroquois by selling them the firearms and munitions they desired. The trade in firearms and their ability to negotiate with the Iroquois allowed a small group of men to supplant company authority and emerge as new elites on the upper Hudson.

These prosperous and well-connected men established an oligarchy, not unlike existing political patterns in the Dutch Republic.[469] These powerful men laid the cornerstones for interest based politics in what would become upstate New York, patterns that would outlast the English conquest of the colony and the American War for Independence.[470] Gerrit Van Slictenhorst, Phillip Pietersz Schuyler, and Jerimias Van Rensselaer acquired large amounts of land with fur profits, laying the foundations of a formidable power bloc historians refer to as the New York "manor lords."[471] The descendents of Phillip Pietersz Schuyler and Jerimias Van Rensselaer, joined by the Van Cortlandts and later the Gansevoorts would refer to themselves as aristocratic "fathers of the people," using their wealth, credibility, and social status to dominate politics in New Netherland and New York for the next two centuries.[472]

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[467] Roger M. Carpenter. *The Renewed, the Destroyed, and the Remade: The Three Thought Worlds of the Iroquois and the Huron, 1609-1650*. (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2004), pages 45, 50, 56
[468] Wim Klooster. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. (Leiden: KILTV Press, 1998.), page 37
[469] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the AmericanFrontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The State University of New York Press, 2003), page 442, Charles T. Gehring, ed. *Fort Orange Court Minutes, 1652-1660.* New York Historical Manuscript Series. (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1990), pages 238-239.
[470] Cynthia A Kierner. *Traders and Gentlefolk: The Livingstons of New York, 1673-1790*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), pages 6-7 and Sung Bok Kim**.** *Landlord and Tenant in Colonial New York: Manorial Society, 1664-1775*. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1978), page vii
[471] Patricia U Bonomi. *A Factious People: Politics and Society in Colonial New York*. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1971), page 5
[472] Alan Taylor. *William Cooper's Town: Power and Persuasion on the Frontier of the Early American Republic.* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), pages 143, 158.

Historians have grossly misinterpreted the burgher revolt of the late 1640's and early 1650's as a precursor to the American Revolution [473] The struggle between the boschlopers and the company did not lay the groundwork for the later American Revolution as colonists did not direct acts of subversion towards autonomy or the creation of a new social order. Instead, boschloper resistance to company policy represented a reactionary movement. The elite men of Manhattan and the upper Hudson fancied a return to a previous condition, claiming their desire to be governed by the Holland States General and the Prince of Orange. For the boschloper elite, the company infringed on rights as Dutchmen and through their actions they demanded equal status with the citizenry of the Dutch Republic. For the seventeenth-century Dutch, the most important right of a free citizen was the ability to trade for one's personal gain, and the boschlopers laid claim to this right through their trade of contraband goods.[474]

While resistance to the company freed a burgeoning social elite in New Netherland from its laws and restrictions, it did nothing for impoverished men and women. If anything, the removal of company influence on the upper Hudson by the boschloper resulted more restrictive colonial order that pushed indentured servants, vagrants, and women further to the fringes of society. Men and women that did not enjoy wealth and privileged connects saw potential in alcohol as a social equalizer. Non-elite men and women became boschlopers by trading alcohol to the Iroquois in exchange for peltries, yet they discovered that local elites barred further entry into the ranks of wealth and privilege. These men and women found that they were now dangerous criminals for engaging in the same trading activity as local elites, except on a smaller scale.

While the boschloper elite touted the danger that non-elite men and women posed to the community, their true fear was the threat that these upstarts posed to the social order and their own economic and political hegemony. New Netherland and colonial North America was not a breeding ground of innovative frontiersmen and egalitarianism, rather it was a place where the "power, prestige, and political influence" of a few privileged elites determined the fate of the many.[475]

The Dutch West India Company's failure to control *zeewant* as currency and as a cultural medium between the Dutch and the Iroquois signaled to colonists that their control of the colony

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[473] Oliver Rink. *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York*. (Cornell University Press: Ithaca, 1986), pages 21-23.
[474] Simon Middleton. *Rights, Privileges, and the Place of the Artisan in Colonial New York*. (Ann Arbor: UMI Dissertation Services, 1998), pages 23-24.
[475] Robert Ritchie. *The Duke's Providence: A Study of New York's Politics and Society*, 1664-1691. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1977), pages 4-5

was crumbling. Inflation woes combined with an economic decline in the 1650's created tensions between colonists and the Dutch West India Company.[476] The declining value of zeewant also strained the relationship between the Dutch and the Iroquois as peltries became more scarce and harder to obtain. In exchange for their hard-earned peltries, the Iroquois began demanding more firearms and munitions from the Dutch. The failure of the Dutch West India Company to meet the demands of the Iroquois signaled that their words of friendship and goodwill were meaningless. As company influence on the upper Hudson crumbled, the boschloper elite consolidated their dominance over Dutch colonial holdings by meeting the demands of the Iroquois in their homes and in the forests of North America.

[476] Janny Venema. *Beverwijck: A Dutch Village on the American Frontier,1652-1664*. (Albany: The Netherlands State University of New York Press, 2003), page 183

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Tim Romans was born in 1978 in Huntington, West Virginia. He graduated from Marshall University in 2000, completing his BA in History. In April 2001, Tim graduated from the United States Air Force Officer Training School at Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama, earning his commission as a second lieutenant. He served in various assignments at Shaw Air Force Base South Carolina, culminating as the Squadron Section Commander for the 20th Civil Engineer Squadron. Tim also deployed in June of 2003 in support of exercise MAPLE FLAG and again in October 2003 supporting the North Atlantic Treaty Organization peacekeeping mission in Sarajevo, Bosnia He learned Dutch while in Bosnia which cultivated his interest in New Netherland. He continues to serve as an active duty captain in the United States Air Force.